

SENSE OF PLACE:  
CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES  
FROM BANKS PENINSULA,  
NEW ZEALAND

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A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements  
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## ABSTRACT

Sense of place is an important dimension in many people's lives. Through long residence in a region a person tends to become attached to that place, expressing both territoriality and affection for it. Bonding to a place is largely subconscious, however. If a person gains perspective by being distant from his or her place, a greater awareness of place bonds can build upon his or her sense of place, making it even stronger. Cultural influences can also build a sense of place, especially among indigenous people.

Previous sense of place research has seldom been empirically based, and has tended to focus upon modern peoples, yet researchers make generalizations as if their research applies to all humanity. Cross-cultural research, founded in fieldwork, can both confirm and extend theory on sense of place.

My research project has examined an indigenous people's sense of place, and contrasted it with that of a modern people. Banks Peninsula, New Zealand, has been my study area, where a large number of Maori (indigenous) and pakeha (modern, and of European descent) peoples were interviewed in depth to determine the character of their respective senses of place. My field research objectives were to learn about an indigenous people's sense of place, at the level of cosmology; to investigate how sense of place varies among people; to see how sense of place develops; and to uncover the essence of sense of place itself.

Interviews formed the bulk of the data, with 270 Peninsula respondents interviewed at length in their homes, and another 80 Peninsula out-migrants interviewed elsewhere in New Zealand. Group interviews supplemented the Peninsula data base, as did less detailed talks with holiday home owners, long-term campers, tourists and school children. Community events, both Maori and pakeha, were attended throughout the fieldwork period, which extended from November, 1987, through to February, 1989.

Results were analyzed primarily through qualitative means, as an ethnographic and phenomenological methodology directed my research. However, as a social survey was also

conducted, quantitative analyses were done to ascertain the extent of trends among responses from interviews, as well as to find inter-relationships in those trends. Themes and insights became apparent in the qualitative analyses; respondents' insights are shown in the dissertation through excerpts from interviews.

Theory was developed both during and after fieldwork, with self-reflection and comparison with previous research instrumental in that development. Major differences were identified between indigenous and modern peoples in the way in which each develops their sense of place. Maori are linked to the earth through cosmology, with creation myths centering them within the cosmos in one particular place. The tribal land upon which Maori dwell is both respected and loved; Maori belong to the earth, especially around their *marae* (meeting house and grounds), referring to that location as *papa kainga* (home ground) and their "place to stand" (*turangawaewae*). Maori sense of place is culturally developed through tribal rituals, and reinforced through place names, carved designs, and legends which remind them of their heritage.

The sense of place of pakeha respondents was often found to be equally as strong as that of Maori, with localized ancestry in the Peninsula forming the basis of a deep sense of place. Elderly pakeha who had long residence in the Peninsula particularly felt part of their place, in contrast to new residents who displayed only an affection for their place. Out-migrants were found to have more of a nostalgic sense of place for the Peninsula, although Maori invariably still had a feeling of belonging to their tribal lands. Many Maori expressed a desire to return to those lands upon retirement, whereas pakeha in the Peninsula did the reverse, retiring off the Peninsula instead.

Besides such individual influences as social belonging and residential status on the development of sense of place, contextual influences also have a great effect. The physical environment, home and family, community, society and culture all play important roles in that development, demonstrating that individualism is not central to sense of place. This is especially so for indigenous people.

Theory on sense of place is based on the bracketing of the phenomenon, to discern its essence in relation to closely allied concepts (e.g. territoriality; home; community; place attachment; regional consciousness), allowing a better conception of it. Theory is further

informed by a description of its development, both individual and contextual. Cross-cultural differences are also of concern in that theory. Resultant effects of developing (or losing) a sense of place have been outlined, as have various typologies to classify people according to their sense of place. However, the variability among people, their inconsistency, and their personal development as they age all preclude a definitive theory from being advanced.

Sense of place was thus found to be a complex phenomenon which is variable cross-culturally. Phenomenological and ethnographic methods were very successful in examining its attributes, with fieldwork among people of modern and indigenous ways of life essential to gain new insights. An understanding of sense of place may provide some guidance for modern people as they consider their individual and collective paths in the tumultuous times ahead.



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And so, the lives of many have been involved with my research, and I have benefited from their involvement. I hope that their kind work is reflected well in my dissertation; I know that it has changed my life to the better.

## PREFACE

When I considered doing more research on sense of place, I realized that to learn about the topic I needed to gain perspective on my own place feelings by moving away from North America. I also felt that a cross-cultural perspective was needed on sense of place, particularly to contrast modern and indigenous peoples. New Zealand seemed the ideal site, due to my wife's family connections, and because a researcher can study two vibrant cultures there: those of European ancestry (*pakeha*) and those from the Pacific islands of Polynesia, the indigenous Maori. By immersing myself in their cultures, and by leaving my own homeland, I hoped to develop sense of place theory. Little did I know what I was getting myself into.

Wrenching myself free of family, friends, culture and physical environment in Victoria, British Columbia, proved difficult. After arrival here, feelings of displacement in Christchurch were strong for the first six months; homesickness still comes and goes in waves. Early on in the research design I solicited comments from a host of international experts in my field (e.g. Anne Buttimer, Hong-key Yoon, David Ley, Brian Murton, Edward Relph, David Seamon and Yi-fu Tuan). This proved instrumental in gaining insight into my topic, and in locating new references.

I had to quickly become familiar with New Zealand and its two primary cultures to successfully undertake my research. I did this through attending courses at the University of Canterbury (New Zealand environment; Maori culture; Maori language); reading books and newspapers (I kept a clipping file); travelling around New Zealand as both a tourist and a guest of families; joining the University Maori Club; talking with academics, students and attending seminars; being a warden/tutor at a university hall of residence; and (generally) being a resident of Christchurch. In this process I was much more of a participant than an observer, especially in the Maori Club, at the hall of residence, and when reflecting on my sense of place feelings with friends, both foreign and native to New Zealand.

At the time of this project's initiation, in early 1987, New Zealanders were in the midst of trying to improve race relations between their two main cultures. Land claims by Maori were being met with much resistance, and a typical pakeha may not have been able to undertake research with a Maori tribe. As a Canadian - although I have since become a "Kiwi" myself - I was welcomed on to *marae* (meeting house and grounds); I was regarded with little suspicion by Maori elders.

I am still a student of *tikanga-Maori* (Maori customs), but at least I now have a better understanding than many pakeha. As I ventured further into the realm of this indigenous people, their cosmological basis of thought, what Western peoples term mythology and animism, became clearer. My own cosmology and sense of place, based upon a Western way of thinking - steeped in science, abstraction, formal religion, capitalism and consumerism - could thus be considered via this external vantage point.

I was a pakeha venturing into a Maori world, as few pakeha New Zealanders do today. Yet, I was warmly received, and felt the *aroha* (warm/loving) spirit of Polynesia in their households and on their *marae*. I believe that this aspect of my research has both transformed me and provided a new perspective on sense of place. I would not have missed it for the world. That warm welcome also characterized my fieldwork with pakeha in Banks Peninsula (and in other parts of New Zealand). Without the support of my hospitable and co-operative respondents, this research would not have been possible.

I have made the results of my research public with the respondents, in part so that I could validate my findings, but mostly to let them know how all of my work turned out. This was done through two public meetings and articles in local newspapers. I also donated copies of my thesis to local libraries; audio tapes of interviews with Maori respondents and a video-tape of selected Peninsula respondents' will shortly be donated, respectively, to the *Irakehu hapu* (Maori sub-tribe in the Peninsula) and to the Akaroa Area School. The academic community is learning of my experiences through geography conferences in New Zealand and Australia, and through publications.

In closing, I should note that both King (1987) and Stokes (1988) have advocated that only Maori should now be researching Maori topics. I cannot support this line of reasoning totally, although I too believe that indigenous views (on their own topics of interest) are needed

at this time. Without my own research impetus on sense of place, I know that this topic would not have been studied in New Zealand, particularly by Maori, who tend to take their own strong, tribal feelings as a foundation, and not as something to be investigated. Increased cross-cultural understanding, particularly at the level of cosmology - and at a juncture in New Zealand history when it is most needed due to heightened feelings about race relations - is available through my research. I would not have completed that research, however, if such academic advice had been taken.

Of course, doing my research in an ethnographic and phenomenological manner demanded more from me as a researcher. I had to cultivate an interviewing style which embraced listening skills and empathy, and a thinking style which was holistic, intuitive and creative. I needed a lot of fortitude to enter a strange country, delve into a foreign culture (*tikanga-Maori*), and traverse the (often) inhospitable environment of Banks Peninsula. I had to maintain my research momentum, sometimes in the face of disbelief, as this form of research had not been previously attempted by a foreign geographer in New Zealand. But my project is now complete. The following is the record, analysis and discussion of my findings, toward the development of a theory for sense of place.



Akaroa Harbour under a blanket of snow, viewed from the Hilltop: end-May, 1988.



The author at his field camp in Okains Bay: mid-January, 1988.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

People of different cultures, races, and religions value their own places in their own ways. Sense of place is important to many people, as it is the basis for a personal involvement with the world. In the 1980s the phrase "sense of place" became more frequently used in the arts and in public discourse. This phrase is intended to convey the sense of belonging and attachment that residents form for their place, as well as their perceptual sensitivity to that place. It is different from regional consciousness, community spirit, feeling "at home", territoriality and patriotism, yet it includes aspects of these terms.

Sense of place is the result of both residence (in one place) and awareness (of that place). A person's place feelings are also affected by the structure and nature of both the place where one lives and one's society. Insiders have built up a storehouse of intimate, local knowledge about their place and its inhabitants, past and present. They have become bonded to their place to satisfy basic human drives for security, belonging and rootedness. A sense of place arises slowly in the midst of feelings, sensations and structural limitations to form a gestalt "whole".

Some writers refer to "a sense of place" when they describe a locale. As such, they are describing a region in a subjective manner. This depiction of place is artistic and personal; there can thus be controversy over the judgements reached. My project is more concerned, however, with people's own feelings of sense of place, in character and intensity. Their personal assessments of the qualities of the place where they live is only one of the factors which has influenced the development of their sense of place; length of residence and social belonging will be explored as well.

In the 1960s and 1970s most human geographers dealt with behavioural or economic issues, investigating the functional and operational aspects of people's lives in

space. To counter this "spatial encumbrance" (Eyre, 1973), humanistic geographers began writing on people's emotional relationship with place in the mid-1970s. The quantitative movement in geography had temporarily shunted such subjective research to the sidelines. Humanistic research on people's feelings for home, community and place began to restore balance to human geography.

Studies of sense of place and place attachment were still rare, however, especially those based on empirical research. Bonds to mate, family, kin, community, country and work were researched by other social scientists, but people's bonds to place were seldom studied in the field by geographers. The development of sense of place theory has evolved slowly, partly because of this lack of attention.

However, the importance of sense of place as a research topic did not diminish. In a review of environmental perception, Saarinen et al (1982) pointed out the importance of the integrative character of sense of place:

Sense of place deals with what makes an environment - at any scale - distinctive and different from others. It requires observation and analysis, both of the environment's features (literal and symbolic) and of the perceiver's experience, reactions and values. Thus sense of place is an integrative concept, one that can bring together such studies as images of place, landscape assessment, quality of life, historic preservation, and microgeography and design. We think that the importance of sense of place is its close tie to the individual and group sense of identity. Finally, in its design applications it offers the possibility of affirming, of enhancing, that sense of identity. (525).

The theoretical constructs that have been forwarded on sense of place by a variety of researchers have taken on the characteristics of modern people's cultural values as well, due largely to the cultural background of researchers: sensitive, field-based studies of indigenous peoples' sense of place, on the other hand, are under-represented in geography.

An investigation of sense of place addresses one of the major realms of human geography: people's personal, experiential and emotional relationship with place. Despite the intensity of feeling that may be involved, sense of place is still a vague concept. Examining sense of place in a cross-cultural framework may reveal more of its mysteries, especially the difference between modern and indigenous peoples. This dissertation should provide an increased understanding of the topic.

In the first half of this introductory chapter I will detail my dissertation's format; the philosophical and theoretical parameters of my research; and introduce my research



topic and study area. The balance of the chapter will be devoted to an overview of modern and indigenous peoples' relationship with place.

### 1.1 Presentation Style

An essential problem presented itself initially in writing this dissertation: an academic treatment is necessarily progressive in format and compartmentalized, but the ideas in the holistic topic, sense of place, are naturally interwoven. A structured format thus seemed inappropriate. One way around this dilemma would be to present an illustrated diary or video-tape as a dissertation, but then a research perspective might be lost, as would clarity of understanding. Aydelotte (1963) states that:

Setting up categories for classifying the evidence necessitates some careful thought about their meaning and relevance and in this way imposes on the investigator the burden of clarifying his ideas and defining his assumptions more explicitly. Most important, a formal quantitative arrangement of the evidence forces upon the investigator's attention the discrepancies between theories and observation, the points at which they do not correspond, in a particularly obtrusive fashion. (175).

And so, I decided to adopt the standard presentational style in which procedures, synthesis of research findings and conclusions could be clearly stated and understood.

The dissertation is divided into four parts, each of which brings together materials of a similar nature. Part I houses the introduction, literature review, and reviews of theoretical and methodological approaches to sense of place research; Part II contains background information on the New Zealand setting and a description of my research design; Part III presents the results of my case study concerning Banks Peninsula; Part IV places the case study in context and concludes with a theory for sense of place.

In the literature review and elsewhere quotations have sometimes been used to keep the author's meaning intact. This presentation of academic writing sometimes contrasts with a more free-flowing style used by both myself and respondents to describe sense of place. In the latter case respondents' sense of place feelings are expressed through the use of verbatim extracts from interviews. The dissertation is occasionally personalized through the use of the first person (active voice), commentaries, and insights into my own sense of place. Short (1989, 85-86) provides some justification for this approach in geography:

In seeking the goal of the objective observer most academic writing is dry, boring, lifeless and dull because it lacks the life blood of personal experience and the presence of a committed 'I'. . . . By denying the legitimacy of our experiences we lack the ability to comprehend fully the experiential nature of places. . . . To say

something about the peopling of places we need to allow room for our experience of particular places.

Wood provides further rationale for the use of this style:

It is the very essence of the failure of humanistic geography: Its adherents want to get inside others but will not let others get inside them; they want to share the outsider's world, but not let the outsiders share theirs; they want to pry and prick at the life of the housing project resident, to listen to the stories of the elderly, to crawl beneath the skin of the alcoholic, but express no interest whatsoever in exposing to the excruciating scrutiny of the wondering world the ways of the graduate student and the college professor. (in Pickles, 1985, 68, emphasis added).

As well as these variations in written presentation, visual materials (photographs and figures) are also used to illustrate the sense of place experience. In contrast, I have used analytical tools, such as tabulations and descriptive statistics, to look at aspects of sense of place. I have employed a composite approach to this quantification, attempting to reunite my abstractions on respondents' senses of place once analysis is complete.

I have attempted to present a balance of material on both modern and indigenous peoples in this dissertation. The modern view in the literature on sense of place is reported in more depth since the majority of geographical information is derived from modern peoples, but the indigenous view is of equal importance. Overviews of modern and indigenous peoples in this chapter are of similar length. Because the majority of my respondents were of European extraction, however, more space is devoted to their views in the results and discussion. In Chapter 6 the two main peoples of New Zealand, Maori and *pakeha* (of European, Caucasoid descent) are described.

"Maori" was the term formerly used by the native people to identify an "ordinary" person (not of chiefly rank). Since the mid-1800s, it has commonly been used in New Zealand to identify the indigenous people as a whole, although tribal affiliations are still more important to many Maori. The definition of a Maori term which follows its introduction is often very brief. It should be remembered that it is sometimes difficult to translate concepts from one way of thinking to another; more comprehensive translations may be found in New Zealand Maori to English dictionaries (e.g. Ryan, 1974; Williams, 1971). A glossary of Maori words employed follows the reference list.

Despite a sometimes unequal treatment in terms of quantity of material presented, a cross-cultural understanding of sense of place, as grounded in my fieldwork concerning

Banks Peninsula, is made available through contrasting and comparing modern and indigenous perspectives. This material is summarized in the concluding chapter.

## 1.2 Philosophical and Theoretical Parameters of my Research

Philosophical parameters will first be outlined, followed by an explanation of the position I have adopted toward theory. At a philosophical level Wilson (1971) describes differences between a normative and an interpretive (*sic*) view of social reality. The former view sees this reality as fixed, whereas the latter believes that social meanings are created in specific situations by the people involved through interaction (69). Wilson notes that there is some stability, though, in an interpretive view of social order; otherwise social chaos would ensue. There is also flexibility in this order. Through reflexivity, where social actors see themselves and their actions objectively, an assessment of more everyday occurrences can be made, followed by alterations (79).

I have adopted the interpretive view, where sense of place is developed among people and remains fairly stable, but is also subject to change in such ways as moving to a new place and through aging. The taken-for-granted nature of sense of place, especially among modern people, has made my research very difficult. I have had to draw on a variety of methodologies in my research design to discover the nature of this phenomenon, how it develops, and how it varies. Eyles (1985, 1988b) and Palm (1986) support such integration, as long as the methodologies are adapted to fit a philosophical viewpoint.

At the level of "ontology" (the nature and origin of reality), and epistemology (the theory of knowledge and the domain of enquiry: see Harrison and Livingstone, 1980, 27), I have taken a phenomenological position, supplemented by ethnography, self-reflection and social survey analysis. I will only outline these positions here, as they are detailed in Chapter 5. Phenomenology is the orderly study of phenomena through an unbiased scrutiny of experience (MacLeod, 1968), and has a complete philosophical and methodological position from which to assess experience. It especially infuses the research, providing guiding principles in research design, field work, analysis and writing. It is also a way of thinking and being if carried far enough (see Relph, 1981a, 100; Walmsley and Lewis, 1984, 157). A humanistic approach, which is value-laden, has also directed me toward the meaning that people find in their world (see Chapter 4), although in

my humanism I only adhere to a weak form of anthropocentrism (Norton, 1984), as I have adopted a position of environmental humility (see Relph, 1981b).

An enquiring approach, using a diversity of perspectives to raise my and respondents' levels of consciousness, was needed for my research, as my topic lay within the taken-for-granted realm of people's relationship with place. In phenomenology, theoretical assumptions are suspended by the researcher in order to see the topic afresh. How respondents constitute their personal sense of place is investigated by removing layers of abstraction between people and their experienced lifeworlds. A logical positivist approach closes the researcher's mind to new hypotheses once the fieldwork has commenced, lacks empathy, and is supposedly "value free", shunning subjectivity. Such positivism is especially inappropriate to sensitive research with an indigenous people.

Ethnographic methods (after Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983) provided a better means to approach Maori respondents, and enabled me to capitalize on being a stranger to my study area. Such "strangeness" enabled me to note what culture members, pakeha and Maori, had taken for granted about their place. I recognized that being an "objective" researcher is a myth; instead, I was more of a participant in my fieldwork. Philosophically, there can be no separation between person/world or researcher/object of study (see Capra, 1983).

In describing an interpretative view of research, Eyles (1985) tells us that knowledge itself is constituted through interactive processes in social situations (56), and that "facts" are "theory-laden: Facts do not order themselves . . . what we see depends on what we look at and also on what our previous visual-conceptual experience has taught us to see" (45). Therefore, "theory and observation inform one another" (46). He goes on to say (in non-inclusive language) that:

the researcher has to interpret a world in which he lives and participates . . . he cannot escape experience but he must treat it differently from lay participants. Accepted ideas and practices must not be taken-for-granted by the researcher. He must analyse them as such if they are taken-for-granted by the individuals being studied but his assessment must go beyond this taken-for-grantedness to discover if there are other mechanisms and forces which shape the world of experience. (1985, 55).

I was integrating knowledge from (potentially) different ontologies through my interpretation of respondents' sense of place, with data coming from several different

methodologies. Epistemological concerns were lessened in through the nature of the topic, as knowledge on sense of place can be assessed for validation from the vantage point of one's own experiences in place (see Chapter 12).

My "methodological pluralism" (Eyles, 1988a, 2) permits the use of several research perspectives to consider sense of place. This pluralism, composed of phenomenology, ethnography, self-reflection and social survey analysis, was integrated, but social survey analysis was more difficult to adapt to an interpretative view. Social survey analyses are not inherently positivistic (Eyles, 1985, 44; Marsh, 1982, 48-49; see also Chapter 5), and are useful to show trends across a sample of respondents, beyond case studies of individuals. I have bracketed my use of quantification in the social survey analyses to ensure that positivism, and a deterministic philosophical view, do not intrude upon my interpretative philosophical stance.

In keeping with my phenomenological approach, I have tried to assess respondents in as "whole" a way as possible in my analyses, purposefully not abstracting only parts of their lives. Statistical analyses, based on individual differences, were fleshed out by qualitative material to show the meaning of the quantitative findings. As such, these analyses were done descriptively, and were tied to the respondents in my study area. Composite variables were often used in the statistical analyses. All variables used in analyses were identified by respondents as being important: they were not therefore just abstractions.

Tenets of logical positivism were not followed in my social survey analyses, in keeping with my interpretative view of social reality. Hypotheses were not set at the start of my research, as statistical analysis was only considered as a possibility at its outset; inferential statistics were not used to search for causal laws, as my theory did not aim to be predictive, and is thus not based on axiomatic systems (see Kalmar and Sternberg, 1988, 159-160). In my research design I determined that if trends were noticeable during the fieldwork, then statistical analyses (as described above) would be attempted after the fieldwork was complete. My research was organized to facilitate such a search toward an explanation of sense of place, as primarily tied to the context of my case study (see Chapter 7).

My philosophical position thus coloured the way in which I viewed the social world of respondents, and the way that I analyzed the data. The theory that derived from my experience and analyses is itself limited by this view. One goal of phenomenology is to search for universal structures concerning particular phenomena. An aim of an ethnographic methodology which employs reflexivity is to develop theories (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 19). Theory construction requires some level of generalization, however, and the tendency among academics, particularly amongst graduate students, including those in geography, is not to generalize at all: generalist treatments are attacked by specialists, who cite specific exceptions. And so, works which do "too little generalization" receive less criticism, yet may be less informative as well. Starr wrote in 1963 that academic training does not prepare students as much for generalization as for specialization (16-17). This is still true today.

There is a need for some interpretation beyond strict empirical evidence, to place a case study in context, and to formulate theories for society, something which social researchers have not done as successfully as those in the physical realm (Aydelotte, 1963, 162 and 167). The social sciences are "overpopulated by models, hypotheses and systems, underpopulated by theories and explanations, and have barely seen a decent law" (Smith, 1979, 360). Wirth adds that: "Thirty years of every-day research routine in the empirical social sciences have shown that a strict orientation towards the general, towards laws and comprehensive theories lead into a cul-de-sac." (1984, 73: in Johnston, 1986, 84).

The development and testing of theory, though, is one of the most significant endeavours of academics. Aydelotte (1963) states that "theory plays an essential role in intellectual advance; collection of facts by itself is inadequate and may, if theory is neglected, actually retard or impede understanding" (166). Aydelotte explains this further:

The most challenging problem of research is often not to collect or recite the evidence but to display the context in which it is significant, to show how results that are trivial or meaningless in one frame of reference may become useful or even decisive in another. (167).

In this dissertation, theory is used in a way which differs from that typical in social science or scientific research, in order to attempt to gain a higher level of success in coherent interpretation. In everyday usage, a "theory" can be defined as "a formulation of underlying principles of certain observed phenomena which has been verified to some

degree" (Webster's New World Dictionary, 1979). I have used this approach to theory because of the failure of the logical positivist approach to explain or understand people's emotive relationships with their places.

I have also adopted a "theory knitting" approach to theory development. Kalmar and Sternberg (1988, 154) explain this approach, saying that development:

. . . progresses through the integration of the strongest features of alternative theories with one's own ideas about the phenomenon under investigation.

This is contrasted with a segregative approach, in which competing theories are "pitted against one another in terms of their predictions with regard to empirical data" (155). Kalmar and Sternberg believe that a theory-knitting approach is more appropriate to theory development because "theory most profitably progresses in the direction of increasing explanation, instead of in the direction of increasing prediction" (154).

From this position Kalmar and Sternberg (1988, 154) go on to state that conceptual rather than empirical insights should be emphasized in theory development, toward the development of a "superior theory" which offers a "more unified perspective to the field" through "general theoretical frameworks". A theory knitting approach has allowed me to integrate my research findings with my own self-reflection, and with theoretical constructs on sense of place (and related concepts) from previous academic research.

The aim of my research is not to develop causal laws, but to deepen our understanding of sense of place, with the aim of presenting a better explanation of the development of sense of place and its cross-cultural differences. Consequently, the predictive capability of the theory which I develop by the close of my dissertation is not absolute; it is more tied to the context of my fieldwork. One of the goals of my research is to incorporate an indigenous people's relationship with place, as derived from their cosmology and thinking style, into sense of place theory. The use of a more intuitive, phenomenological approach to theory generation is much more suitable for these research subjects, enhancing the possibility of cross-cultural understanding.

### 1.3 An Introduction to the Research Project

There are several research areas that demand investigation for a better understanding of sense of place. For cross-cultural research there are fundamental issues concerning

ways of thinking and of living which need to be addressed. Modern people's thought patterns tend to distance them from their place (Berman, 1984); as modern people evolved from their tribal past, their sense of place also changed through changes in technology, cultural attitudes and ways of living. Gaining perspective on one's place, particularly through living away for a period of time, is said to aid in the development of a (conscious) sense of place (see Hay, 1986; Tuan, 1974a), but it is not well known how important this effect is, nor how important the qualities of the place itself are in the formation of people's sense of place. How much a sense of place varies between people still requires clarification: it may vary widely by age, gender, group affiliations, rural or urban situation and cultures. Cross-cultural research shows further how similar or different whole societies are in their sense of place, and is especially useful in assessing the sense of place of indigenous and modern peoples.

My research has been designed to attempt to resolve some of the most pressing research concerns on sense of place, toward the development of a theory for sense of place. This theory is presented in Chapter 12 as a summary of my research findings. The research has been based on a field study concerning Banks Peninsula, through interviews with residents and ex-residents; my theory has been supplemented by a thorough review of the literature, and by reflection on the topic by myself and others. This theory is only in its developmental stage, however: major principles are presented, but further research, both conceptual and empirical, is required to flesh out its applicability to the wide diversity of peoples on Earth.

To facilitate the development of this theory, four secondary research aims were devised: to incorporate an indigenous people's cosmology (from which their relationship with place is derived) into sense of place theory; to examine how sense of place varies among people; to investigate how sense of place develops, noting the effects of the physical environment and society; and to attempt to delineate sense of place from other associated topics. My composite methodology was devised to these ends.

The differences between an indigenous people (the Maori) and a modernized people (pakeha New Zealanders) were examined in a rural setting (Banks Peninsula), because I felt that rural residents had a stronger sense of place than most urban dwellers. I could



probably also learn something from those without a sense of place; and so, transients and recently-arrived residents to Banks Peninsula were included in my selection of respondents.

Banks Peninsula was initially recommended as my study area by Geography Department staff at the University of Canterbury for several reasons. A number of families, Maori and pakeha, live on their ancestral land in the Peninsula, and its varied topography sets it apart from the Canterbury Plains, isolating its people into small, valley communities. The Peninsula is close to the University, and has a manageable population base of about 2600, beyond Lyttelton Harbour. Introductions to key residents were also possible through University contacts. After reconnaissance trips and initial meetings with Peninsula residents, I decided that it was a suitable region to site my case study.

In the period November 1987 through to February 1989, 270 residents of the Peninsula were interviewed in their homes; 80 out-migrants (ex-residents) from the Peninsula were interviewed elsewhere in New Zealand; a series of group meetings was held with residents; community events (Maori and pakeha) were attended in the Peninsula; and school children, campers, holiday-home owners and tourists were interviewed. I kept a journal while on these data collecting forays, and included in it reflections on sense of place (from myself and others), which became a source of data in itself, as part of the phenomenological method.

My composite methodology proved effective in uncovering the assumptions in respondents' thoughts on sense of place, especially the subtle nuances. My own preconceptions, as well as those in previous academic research, were also bracketed and put into perspective. In using these methods it was essential that I approached people in an empathetic, yet enquiring manner; that my mode of thought adapted to that of the unique context of the research, while a research perspective was maintained; and that my effect on the situation (and my biases) were both lessened and noted. The methodology I employed covered the breadth of this holistic topic from several complementary angles, and ensured that at least some of the methods that I used (see Chapter 7) had a chance of being successful in satisfying my research objectives. The use of different methods thus allowed

what has previously been a vague, taken-for-granted topic to be examined comprehensively, finally bringing its characteristics into the light of day.

#### 1.4 An Overview of Modern and Indigenous Cultures

The holistic nature of sense of place means that it cannot be studied in isolation: areas of discussion have to include culture, society, community, home and the place itself. Modern people seldom get the opportunity for an overview of themselves, particularly from outside their own culture. And so, the following review of two ways of life, modern contrasted with indigenous, may provide new insights, as well as identifying primary influences on people's sense of place, to ground a cross-cultural treatment of humanity and to facilitate later discussion. A few commonly used terms will first be defined.

"Culture" and "society" are sometimes used synonymously. In everyday usage "society" normally refers to a group of people that are homogeneous in some way, as in a group of doctors within a nation of people, while "culture" is thought of as being the arts and beliefs of that group. In a textbook on cultural and social anthropology, however, Hammond (1978, 7) makes the distinction that society involves a people's political system, religion, social organization and economics; "culture" is different from "society", in that its usage is concerned with such phenomena as "technology, values, world view, the environmental conditioning of personality, art, and language". I use Hammond's definitions throughout this dissertation. Culture and society can also be viewed as being constantly in a state of evolution and are therefore somewhat variable across situations, rather than being a static, generalized entity. In the former view - the one adopted in this dissertation - culture and society result from interaction between people, and, as such, are always being redefined (see Norton, 1987, 24-25).

In a dictionary sense, "modern" has a connotation of change, as in "something new". It is a relative term, however, and has come to signify the post-World War Two era, particularly in industrialized countries. In academic treatments, "modern" is usually associated with a complex technology, a specialized work force, an urban lifestyle, consumer goods and international trade networks (see Dicken and Lloyd, 1981, 29-30).

A modern way of life has only been developing for little over a century and a half, since the onset of the Industrial Revolution (Hillary, 1984), although there were similar

patterns in past civilizations. It is quite different from an agricultural, community-based way of life, or the hunter-gatherer existence of indigenous peoples. Modernization is usually associated with Western, industrialized democracies (i.e. those of Western Europe, the British Isles and North America, including Australia and New Zealand in Oceania), but indigenous peoples of those lands may not subscribe to such a way of life. Modernization has also occurred in East Asia (notably in Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore), in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, and in Third World nations, particularly in their cities and tourist resorts.

"Indigenous" can merely mean "to be born within" (Dovey, 1985b, 42), but lately it has been used to denote the native people of a region who have a tribally-based culture (see Beauclerk et al, 1988, 3-6). They may be hunter-gatherers, horticulturalists (including shifting cultivators) and/or pastoralists (as in nomadic peoples). They are normally the minority population in a nation-state, due to the immigration of peoples from other cultures, especially during the colonial era.

Ranginui Walker is Associate Professor in Maori Studies at The University of Auckland, and until late 1989 was the Chairman of the Auckland District Maori Council. He belongs to the Whakatohea tribe, and makes the distinction that there are "basically only two cultures in the world, the culture of indigenous peoples and the culture of metropolitan societies" (1987, 228). He notes that the "distinguishing feature of indigenous cultures is the relationship between the people, the earth and its resources", while the "distinguishing and universal characteristic of metropolitan culture is the capitalist mode of production" which "commodifies the land, its resources and people" (228-229). In the following two subsections these views will be expanded upon, to clarify primary differences between modern and indigenous ways of life, relating these to their members' senses of place.

#### 1.4.1 The Effect of a Modern Way of Life on Place Relationships

A modern lifestyle is usually urban, work-oriented, and consumption-oriented, effectively separating modern people from the natural environment. Although there is variation in cosmology, ideology and lifestyle among modern peoples, there are major principles by which the majority of members in their societies live, which creates a typical thinking style and pattern of beliefs.

Many modern people have a cosmology (beliefs about the origins of the universe) which is secular and based on science and evolution. For those of Christian faiths, a moral belief in human dominion over the Earth, derived from Bible scriptures (Glacken, 1967), is often part of their faith, although some Christians also believe in stewardship. Monotheistic religions have their origins in specific places, as in Jewish, Christian, and Moslem ties to holy places in the Middle East, but there is less place-centeredness for adherents of these religions in their own places, distant from such sacred sites. Consequently, monotheistic spiritual beliefs seldom tie such adherents to the place in which they live, but to a moral code instead.

Mainstream modern society has developed a resource exploitation attitude, based on a moral distinction between people and the Earth, and a belief that the Earth's surface can be divided up into parcels for ownership and personal profit. Capitalist goals are often the impetus for this exploitation in Western and East Asian countries, while socialist reasons are advanced by other nations. An authoritarian power structure within excessively large economic units, as in multi-national corporations, is characteristic of late 20th century capitalism (see Schumacher, 1979). This is sometimes true with farmers as well, many of whom now run large agribusinesses (see Berry, 1977, 33-35). Managerial technocrats are the overseers of the conversion of nature's bounty for human needs. A "having" rather than a "being" way of living is characteristic of a modern lifestyle; the desire to own and acquire expensive "things" (i.e. materialism and consumerism) drives capitalism and has primacy over "experiencing" (Fromm, 1976; Hohepa, 1978, 109).

All of this growth is facilitated by technocrats' reputedly "value-free" ideology, but one which in actuality lauds secular, mechanistic and scientific values (see Capra, 1983; Drengson, 1983; McLaughlin, 1985; Relph, 1981b). Wendell Berry, the author of The Unsettling of America, Culture & Agriculture (1977), points out, perhaps over-zealously, the characteristics of such people:

For membership in this prestigious class of rampaging professionals . . . the first requirement is that they must be careerists - transients, at least in spirit. That is, they must have no local allegiances; they must not have a local point of view. In order to be able to desecrate, endanger, or destroy a place, after all, one must be able to leave it and to forget it. One must never think of any place as one's home. One must believe that no place is as valuable as what it might be changed into, or as what might be got out of it. Unlike a life at home, which makes ever more particular and precious the places and creatures of this world, the careerist's life

generalizes the world, reducing its abounding and comely diversity to "raw material". (in Monday Magazine, 1985).

The desacralized condition of these technocrats allows them to see the Earth only in terms of "resources" to use for capitalist and socialist goals. They may have special places themselves, but they separate the private from the public realms in their work, and may even have few bonds to any one place.

Technology is seen as "the principle solution to all social problems"; a technocratic philosophy "cuts across political and economic ideologies" (Drengson, 1983, 69). Drengson describes the "technocratic paradigm" of such people, linked to modern peoples' cosmologies, and to modern peoples' lack of either a cultural attachment to the land, or a moral position toward the Earth. The long-term resilience of the modern way of life that results is questionable (Hay, 1989); its characteristic placelessness also provides little support for the development of a sense of place. Placelessness occurs both in a uniformity of design for mass society, as well as in an attitude toward place, where no place is loved more than its utilitarian value (Relph, 1976, 143).

Modern people are trained to develop specialized skills within a social hierarchy, playing the role of interchangeable parts in a vast economic, industrial machine. To facilitate industrialization, a workforce was needed, as was a change in human nature toward rootlessness and mass consciousness:

The creation of the masses is vital, from the conservative viewpoint, to the origin and perpetuation of totalitarianism. By "masses" I mean substantial aggregates of the national population that have become relatively amorphous, rootless, disconnected, and estranged from many of the symbols and values which represent the difference between a society and a crowd. (Nisbet in Howe, 1983, p.195).

The bond to work largely appears to have replaced ties to nature, place and community. If working in a city, modern people seldom live near their own workmates and extended family; there is a divorce between the workplace and home, and between work and leisure. They often lead fractured, hectic lives, where time together has to be planned. The single family dwelling is characteristic of modern living: the nuclear family is more easily shaped to meet demands of the work world. Modern family life is becoming both individualized and work-oriented from cradle to grave.

Modern society fosters a lack of social cohesion, encouraging people to "pull up roots" and move for employment or education elsewhere: opportunities always beckon

somewhere on a new "frontier" (Lewis, 1979; Packard, 1972; Weil, 1952). The creation of several new nation-states in the past century has often reduced identity and rootedness, since their national political boundaries are seldom on a small-scale, around a natural region, or encompass a similar cultural group. The sheer size and multi-cultural character of some large nation-states, such as the U.S.S.R. and India, lessens rootedness and unity. There are common features, especially patriotism, among the inhabitants, but there are often large regional variations. Economies on a hemispheric scale, directed by large multi-national corporations, also erode local identity, with decision-making done in distant cities; local needs are infrequently taken into consideration. The mass media tends to promote modern (and national) values, diminishing the uniqueness of local places and their peoples (Meyrowitz, 1985).

What seems to be characteristic of modern people is a lack of sensitivity, unless the senses have been heightened momentarily (Hay, 1988). Feelings for place are usually taken-for-granted (Hay, 1986; Ley, 1977), resulting in a weak sense of place; bonds to loved ones, an affluent lifestyle, and good health similarly may not be recognized for their true worth unless a person has been deprived of them. Modernized people's senses are instead being constantly bombarded by the multi-media (radio, television, movies, magazines, and newspapers). Sensory overload and noise are common to city life throughout the world (Schafer, 1977), as are traffic, over-crowding and the presence of stranger), crime and many forms of pollution (Berry, 1973; Lofland, 1973; Tuan, 1980a).

In urban living, daily activities are normally divided into compartments (e.g. work or school, home, leisure, shopping and visiting), making lives scattered, busy and scheduled. Routines are commonplace, interspersed with momentary "escapes" of excitement, via entertainment, recreation or holidays. An obsession with clock-time is shown by the prevalence of wrist-watches, wall clocks and calendars. Modern people arrange their thoughts in a linear sequence to follow their linear view of time; their modern sense of time is usually compressed into the immediate past and future. In the typical fast-paced lifestyle of an urbanite, little time is spent in any one place, except perhaps in the workplace and the home. The result is "poorly integrated meanings, memories, and feelings pertaining to place" (Pred, 1983, 63). As Ellul states: "Today the human being is

dissociated from the essence of life; instead of living time, he is split up and parceled out by it . . . " (1964, p. 329-330).

In the compartmentalized thinking style of modern peoples, particularly noticeable among Western peoples, there is constant labelling and objectifying, defining "things" based on classes of "objects", and classifying life forms through speciation (see Drengson, 1983). Thought and perception are usually based on scientific objectivity, hierarchies and the use of polarities. Modern languages uphold this style by splitting subject, object and verb, and by containing a large vocabulary of words for various forms of abstractions: intellectual concepts that are not grounded in personal experience. There is an emphasis on the intellect in thinking as opposed to sensate or bodily perception, and on analytic thought versus intuition and creativity.

In business and industry, rational detachment has precedence over emotional involvement; an urban lifestyle also fosters anonymity, with impersonal behaviour common in public places. There is an introspective, egocentric character to modern thinking, with modern people typically self-involved in their own busy thoughts. Modern people commonly distance themselves from what is occurring around them in such ways as absorption in conversation, reading books, watching television, listening to music and self-reflection.

The result is the separation of person from world, distancing the perceiver from the environment (Drengson, 1983; Seamon, 1982). A modern way of thinking generates other splits as well, as in mind/body, humankind/nature, and humans/other species (anthropocentrism). Indeed, Samuels (1981, 117), following Buber's philosophy, even contends that human thought is naturally alienated, with people needing to "enter into relations" with what is being considered to overcome such splits, although there is no evidence offered that indigenous people think in this manner. Dualistic thinking, the use of abstractions during intellectualizing, and anthropocentrism thus appear to be the structures of modern thinking (see also Berman, 1984; Roszak, 1969).

The cost of this orientation is high. Some modern people may display signs of alienation, frustration, and neuroses due to their way of life (Fromm, 1976; Leonard, 1972). Despite a high standard of living, social malaise is evident in high rates of violent

crime, divorce, alcohol and drug abuse, suicides, wife and child battering, and mental illness. And so, it seems a cost has been exacted for modern people's individualism, separation from nature, shallow roots in a place, and loss of context in a community.

To lose a lifestyle that is "whole and mythic" (Leonard, 1972), natural to humankind throughout our evolutionary history, is probably injurious to the health of society. Modern people have achieved a degree of independence and comfort, but display less meaning or purpose to their lives than indigenous people (if the latter still have an intact way of life). The "noble savage" may have been idealized by Rousseau in the 18th century, and may be "short and brutish" from a modern perspective (see Vecsey, 1980, 3), but perhaps an indigenous way of life does have more integrity and purpose than a modern one. According to Livingston, in the transition from human beings to working beings, modern people have lost their "place" on the road to "progress":

As a species, our sense of belonging in nature, our sense of a place in nature, has been utterly destroyed . . . having willfully abdicated our place in the life process, we can no longer remember that "place" means "belonging", and that belonging is what living is all about. (1981, 84-85).

Instead of categorizing indigenous views as "primitive" and then discarding them wholesale, some direction may be found within such views for a modern society that seems to be floundering in its own excesses.

#### 1.4.2 Indigenous Peoples' Relationship with Place

Indigenous, tribal people have a very different relationship with place than do modern people. The tribal population worldwide is estimated at between 100 and 170 million people (Hillary, 1984, Chapter 9). The hunter-gatherer lifestyle, with horticulture, shifting cultivation and pastoralism sometimes undertaken, has fewer members worldwide, but major elements persist. A tribal way of life is surprisingly resilient: peoples such as the Aborigines of Australia have a history of over 40,000 years, although physical genocide has been endured since colonial occupation. By the time of (sustained) colonial contact in the early 1800s, the Maori people of New Zealand had successfully adapted to New Zealand's ecology after about 1000 years of inhabitation, although they had exterminated the moa population (several species of large, flightless birds).



This discussion will review those elements of the indigenous way of life which may affect sense of place, considering indigenous practices as if they have not been diminished by industrialization. It should be remembered that some present-day modern peoples have recently evolved from a tribal, nomadic heritage, as with the Jews of Israel and several tribes of Africa, many of whose peoples now reside in large cities.

Elements of indigenous cosmology may be in different forms, yet tend to serve the same function, tying their peoples to particular places. In most indigenous, tribal cosmologies the whole Earth is thought to be alive, with each element having its own spirit: humans are not considered the centre of all life. An ecological balance between humans and nature tends to be maintained through the spiritual relationship between tribespeople and nature, said to form the basis of indigenous peoples' sense of place (Highwater, 1981). Tribal beliefs are infused in their culture, through language styles, art forms and myths. These beliefs link tribal peoples directly to their own tribal land. Beliefs are practised ritually, to become part of the person through dynamic action, in contrast to the intellectual abstraction of modern peoples.

A tribal thinking style is said to be sympathetic, in that there is a binding relationship between perceiver and that which is being considered: there is a "deep conviction of a fundamental and indelible solidarity of life" (Highwater, 1981, 69). Tribal peoples' view of reality is expansive: "everything that happens to us, everything we think, everything we envision, imagine, conceive, perceive, dream, intuit, is a real and vital part of our lives" (81). Their temporal world includes a vibrant ancestry which is felt in the present, as well as a "realm of expectancy, of desire and purpose, of vitalizing processes - inspiration - the realm of thought thinking itself from an inner realm into manifestation" (107). Mythical thinking fuses indigenous people with the land; Murton says that "place is often inhabited by spirits of the ancestor", and "a constant and intimate knowledge of place, enveloped by a mythical view of the land, ties society to place" (1987, 99).

Highwater states that because "the landscape itself is sacred . . . it therefore embodies a divinity that it shares with everything that is part of nature"; architecture, myths and rituals are intertwined with nature, not, as in "Western man . . . an escape from nature"

(1981, 124). The environmental ethic of North American native Indians is illustrated by the following quotations, the first by Chief Seattle and the second by Rolling Thunder:

What is man without the beasts? If all the beasts were gone, man would die from great loneliness of spirit, for whatever happens to the beast also happens to the man. All things are connected. Whatever befalls the earth befalls the sons of the earth.

All things - and I mean all things - have their own will and their own way and their own purpose; this is what is to be respected. Such respect is not a feeling or an attitude only. It's a way of life. Such respect means that we never stop realizing and never neglect to carry out our obligation to ourselves and our environment. (both in Boyd, 1974, 51-52).

There is not a belief that parts of the Earth can be "owned", as in the modern system of individual titles for land (Beauclerk et al, 1988, 4), although many tribal peoples display a degree of territoriality to protect resources for future use (Marsh, 1988, 27). Religious beliefs and practices also usually minimize tribal peoples' effects on the Earth, with rituals commonplace to make amends for hurting its creatures (see Vecsey, 1980, 21).

In describing indigenous peoples, Murton (1979, 31) states that: "The deep sense of attachment of a community to a place and a past is a general characteristic of preindustrial societies." This attachment is partially due to their mythical treatment of space, whereupon the world is centered on a tribe's homeland, with "man clearly at the center of the universe" (Tuan, 1977, 91; see also Tuan, 1974a, 230). Highwater (1981, 122) adds that space is not seen as abstract; it is instead centered at a personal spatial scale, as there is "a ritually defined center, whether the fire at the center of the Plains *tipi* or the *sipapu* (Earth Navel) within the Pueblo *kiva*." Indigenous architecture reflects cosmology as well: "Architecture to the Hopi (of the southwestern United States) is both an act of reverence and a congruence of terrain, materials, and tribal sensibility" (Highwater, 1981, 125; see also Saile, 1985, and Yoon, 1986).

In the tribal appropriation of space, tribal territory is normally assigned to those who came first. Although some tribes are very war-like and seek to capture another's territory, especially when resources have been exhausted, most others do not fight battles to gain land, but to settle personal quarrels (see Bonnemaïson, 1984, concerning the Ipai tribe of Vanuatu, in Melanesia). Ancestry is crucial to Ipai tribal people's identity; they speak of the "root-place" of ancestors, which is a source of personal strength, as are certain

*tabu* (sacred) sites. Capturing such personal root-places would thus hold little significance to another tribe.

There are only two types of places among the Ipai, both of which involve friendly relations: root-places and alliances. An Ipai tribe's members can venture into other tribal territories only when following tracks established through alliances. Their mobility is said to mirror the track of a canoe in this fashion, while the (banyan) tree symbolically represents their root-place (Bonnemaison, 1984). In general, reciprocal relations between indigenous tribes are usually maintained through intermarriage, ancestral links and occasionally hosting each other. This allows both travel privileges in each other's territory, and the right to forage in a larger area in times of hardship. Thus feelings of being "at home" are balanced by a network of "ways through" (Flynn, an Aborigine, in Chatwin, 1987, 62).

An indigenous way of life is not concerned with individuals (or even the nuclear family), but is based upon the extended family, ancestor worship and tribal affiliation(s). Tribal peoples are often nomadic in nature, travelling over the land and sea in small extended family parties. Those who develop settlements use outpost (temporary) shelters when they follow their game. They are tuned to seasonal changes in animal movements, and in the gathering and cultivation of foodstuffs. As such, their movements are more "natural", being part of the cyclical pattern of nature.

Leakey (1981) makes the following general statement concerning the lifestyle of hunter-gatherers:

The main social and economic focus of the hunter-gatherer existence is the home base, probably occupied by about six families. The main social consequence of the dual pursuit of meat and plant foods is a sexual division of labour, with the males doing most of the hunting and the females most of the gathering. . . . The practice of bringing plant and animal foods back to a home base where they are shared with all members of the band demands a highly developed sense of co-operation and equality. . . . Indeed, the degree of socialization is intense and reaches a pitch when, for a short while, bands coalesce into larger groups. Above all, foraging people deploy tremendous skill and only minimal technology in exploiting their environment. (108-109).

Tribal community life is "family oriented", providing "its members with an intimate and enveloping sense of belonging . . . The sense of community is enhanced by the tendency in primitive societies to use the family as an analogy for society and its relationship with the world." (Sack, 1980, 172). Sack adds that this view "creates a personalism which extends

to nature and which underlies, and is perhaps the most distinctive element of, primitive thought and behaviour" (172).

There is a complete loss of selfhood among indigenous peoples, with tribespeople melding into both nature and tribe. Tuan (1982, 145) explains that: "So thoroughly are the Wintu (of northern California) embedded in the whole (the smaller whole of society and the larger whole of nature) that they have great difficulty speaking about the individual self." He contrasts this condition with that of Western peoples:

Individualism, self, and self-consciousness - these and other related concepts are supremely the products of Western culture. In the West, the self has grown apart from others in prideful and nervous sufficiency. We are islands, each a world of its own; or, to use Goethe's metaphor, billiard balls, hard individuated objects that touch each other only at the surface. (1982, 151).

Deloria (in Highwater, 171) has said that "The possibility of conceiving of an individual alone in a tribal religious sense is ridiculous . . . The very complexity of tribal life and the interdependence of people on one another makes this conception improbable at best, a terrifying loss of identity at worst." She further says that "the abiding principle of tribalism is the vision of both nature and a society which provides a place for absolutely everything and everyone" (172). As Sack (1980) emphasizes, in traditional societies there is:

a social definition of territory . . . society is not conceived as independent of the place which it occupies nor are individuals alienated from the land. (in Murton, 1987, 99).

Tribal languages express a fluidity of time, as well as retaining a view of wholeness, as in Wintu Indian's reference to the body: Lee "was given a term meaning the whole person. The Wintu does not say my head aches; he says I head ache." (Highwater, 1981, 73). Indigenous people typically have an oral culture, with only a limited need to record material for future usage, such as in carvings and rock paintings. Highwater (1981) notes that "making images is one of the central ways by which humankind ritualizes experience and gains personal and tribal access to the ineffable" (58). He relates that:

the perspective of one person standing in one location and looking at one object or scene (like the lens of a camera) was entirely alien to the Indian conception of images. There is no 'power' in this Western idea of perception . . . From the Indian viewpoint there is only a rather aimless kind of cartography in this kind of art. (86-87).

Highwater also states that indigenous folk literature is "tribal rather than individuated . . . the reader tends to know characters by their actions and not by an outpouring of feelings

and various internal states of mind" (117). Highwater concludes that "primal peoples tend to strive for the depiction of essences rather than appearances" (118).

In rituals indigenous peoples attempt to transform themselves to gain access to the spirit world. Highwater (1981, 141) tells us they "believe that dance can shape the circumstances of nature if it can focus its contagious powers on animals and supernaturals. This premise of sympathetic magic is at the root of most ceremonial use of dance". He further details that "The rituals of primal peoples are products of hundreds of generations, a slow selective process by which certain actions are retained through repetition. These rites possess strong magic. They do not easily vanish and leave only a game . . . " (148).

In their music they produce "the sound of the natural world" (Highwater, 1981, 159), and in their dance there is a "spontaneous link between sentience and movement - a direct, nonverbal, unreasoned assertion of ideas" (137). Highwater says that "dance is an extremely powerful force in human experience" (139), and that:

In this effort to move closer to the centers of power in nature, primal people often imitate and transform themselves into things of the natural world that invest them with vision and strength. Tribal people receive power through songs. Through their dances they touch unknown and unseen elements. (141).

He reminds us that this is very different from Western music, which "has been left only with Logos (reason) as the organizing basis for the work" (157). Modern people are thus more spectators of life, tied to words, thoughts, and passive viewing, than are tribal peoples, who use dynamic action in solidifying their connection to place (see Highwater, 137 and 149).

And so, through cosmology, pattern of land use, tribal affiliation, rituals, architecture, extended family identity and ways of thinking and perceiving, indigenous peoples tend to develop a deep sense of place, which is rooted in the land, sea and spirits of a particular tribal area. Tribal peoples consciously develop and maintain a cultural attachment to place, regarding this as a significant part of their lives. As Ley says, they believe that "if we lose the land, we lose ourselves" (1977, 508).

### 1.5 Concluding Remarks

The main aim of this dissertation is to examine and present a number of cross-cultural perspectives on sense of place from both modern and indigenous peoples and

based on empirical fieldwork, toward the (eventual) development of a sound theory for sense of place. In the Section 1.1 I detailed the four major parts of this dissertation. A brief outline of chapters is given here. Characteristics of people's relationships with space, place and home are presented in Chapter 2 - including their movement between places and their feelings of territoriality - Chapter 3 presents material that is more directly related to sense of place. Previous theoretical approaches to sense of place research are reviewed in Chapter 4, while methodological approaches more suitable to my research project are detailed in Chapter 5. The New Zealand setting for my research is described in Chapter 6. The research design for my fieldwork is presented in Chapter 7, including a description of the Banks Peninsula setting. My results are covered in Chapters 8 through to 10. The relationship between my case study and contextual material is presented in Chapter 11, with the end product of this assessment appearing as a proposed theory for sense of place (Chapter 12).

I have found it difficult to review such a disparate literature, to live far from my natural "home" and to undertake ethnographic research among two foreign cultures. These very difficulties have nevertheless enabled me to gain many new perspectives on the topic - sense of place - presented in this dissertation. What has occurred through the three year process of this research has been a personal transformation of my views and of my personality. Insights occurred in many ways and at many different junctures: through fieldwork, analysis and reflection. Perhaps that is how sense of place itself gradually develops, deepening over time in a place. In this case, though, the results of heightened consciousness have been recorded and assessed, to contribute to the further understanding of what has heretofore been a fairly mysterious topic.

## CHAPTER 2

### A REVIEW OF TOPICS RELATED TO SENSE OF PLACE

Among modern peoples space, place and home are progressive steps toward a deep feeling for a particular location. Due to their cosmology, indigenous peoples have a very different view of space, with deep feelings of belonging to tribal lands (see Chapter 1). Most of the academic literature in geography on space, place and home addresses the lifeworlds of modern peoples; and so, a bias in content toward modern peoples will be apparent in this literature review. Indigenous characteristics will be noted at times, however, as will elements of people's relationship with place that are cross-cultural (i.e. modern/indigenous).

Among modern peoples, space is normally thought of as neutral; place as named, known and familiar; and home as a personal centre of belonging, identity and security. A parallel with modern languages has been noted by Norberg-Schulz (1977, 6): "Places are designated by nouns (they are considered real things that exist); . . . space, as a system of relations, is denoted by prepositions" (e.g. over and under, before and behind each other, within, at, in); and, "character is denoted by adjectives" (e.g. to describe the qualities of a place or a home). Hence the words "place" or "home" would be surrounded by qualifiers to give a more accurate description.

Dividing one's lived experience into such compartments seems somewhat artificial: overlaps will be apparent in the following presentation. The way in which people conceptualize space and place is presented in the first section; this material is developed further in Chapter 3, in the section on the perceptual realm of sense of place. In the second section the relationship between people's movement through space and time and the development of their sense of place, as well as the spatial extent of that sense of place, is presented; in Chapter 3 the section on the experiential realm carries this review further. The final section in this chapter deals with people's personal experience of place in the home and the community; the section

on the emotional realm in Chapter 3 expands and builds on some of this material while adding information on place identity, place attachment, and the feeling of dwelling.

Some possible inter-relationships of space, place and home for modern peoples are conceptualized in Figure 2-1. The top half of the figure shows a hierarchical and linear perspective; the bottom half shows an integrated view. However, both of these views are static, as various forms of movement, through time (length of residence), through space (travels and moving home), and through maturation (aging) are not shown. Although there is a strong difference between abstract space and a human place, I postulate that it is the emotional experience of intimate places, that of our homes (and workplaces) which solidifies the realms of space and place, developing sense of place over the years if movement lies mostly within one region.

The relationship between these realms has been focussed upon by humanistic geographers and by other geographers (e.g. behaviouralists and feminists). Place-related ideas will also be presented from several other academic fields of study - particularly from sociology, psychology, and architecture - to widen the review.

## 2.1 Space and Place

### 2.1.1 Space

A number of types of "space" have been recognized. Pickles (1985, 158-159) argues that science has a technological view of space; it uses an interpretation of the world, derived from Descartes and Newton, which sees space as homogeneous, equivalent in all directions, and not perceptible by the senses. Space is conceived as a "three-dimensional grid with coordinates stretching endlessly along each of its axes, each coordinate point equal in its position, and equal lengths representing equal distances" (Buttimer, 1976, 282). This contrasts with the view of phenomenologists, who see space as "a dynamic continuum in which the experiencer lives and moves and searches for meaning" (Buttimer, 1976, 282).

Some people believe that space is not neutral; instead, they feel that gods (or God, for monotheistic religions) are at work within it. This view is termed "sacred space" by some academics (e.g. Graber, 1976; Tuan, 1978b). It is mythical in character to those with a Western, scientific frame of thought, yet to many cultures, especially indigenous ones, it is part of the reference framework for members' everyday lives. Norberg-Schulz (1977, 1980) uses



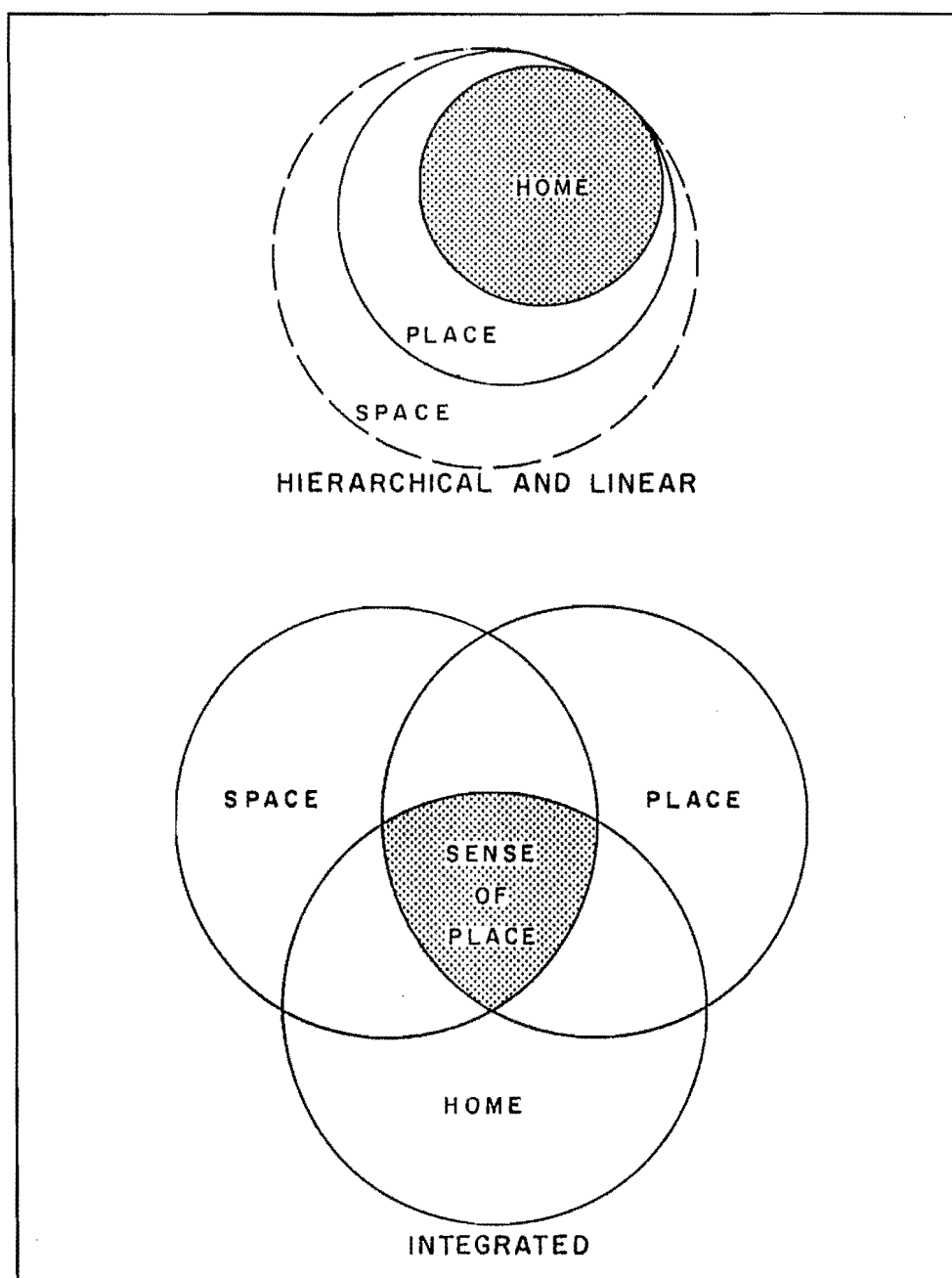


Figure 2-1: Modern views of space, place and home: Idealized conceptualizations.

the ancient Roman concept of *genius loci* to describe the "guardian spirit" of a locale. An "energy field" is sometimes felt by priests at sacred sites; among the Chinese this is called *feng shui* or geomancy (Marcus, 1987), whereas in Polynesia such places are *tapu*. The physical locations of sacred sites is often important, providing either a womb-like shelter or grand vistas. The phrase "landscapes of fear", coined by Tuan (1978b, 98; 1980a), describes the awe that can arise at a sacred site due to a combination of the dramatic forces of nature and the symbolism attached to myths and architecture.

Besides "geometric space", which is based on Euclidian geometry and is the basis of the locational science of spatial geography, there are several other divisions of interest to the study of sense of place. Other spatial concepts include social space, existential space, territorial space and action space. These will be reviewed in the next section, following the material on "place"; lived space and built space will be discussed in Chapter 3.

### 2.1.2 Place

Ponsi (1985, 217) says that "while space is based on quantitative order, place suggests qualitative and immeasurable essences . . . space is an abstract entity . . . place, in order to be defined, requires concrete elements". Sime (1985, 276) delineates place from space by defining place as "a physical location which engenders a positive, satisfactory experience" . . . it "implies a strong emotional tie". Graber notes that "space becomes place when man selects a 'position' from the vast extent of the world, occupies it, and 'takes a stand' (1976, 4). Norberg-Schulz defines place as "space plus character" (1980, 18).

There is ample material on "place", but it is often ambiguous, with different perspectives apparent in the academic disciplines. Steele (1981, 6-7) provides a good overview of place, outlining several general characteristics. A summary of these is presented below:

people identify with places, and people also identify others by the places they come from;

certain places become symbols of power;

people who live in a particular location tend to take their visible setting as the total world;

places are blamed or given credit for people's experiences;

people avoid places they believe to be dangerous or proscribed (see also Tuan, 1980a);

people are drawn to places that are either well known and thus familiar, or unknown and mysterious;

places shape the characters of their residents, and people reshape the character of a location over time; and,

people adapt themselves to places they could not or chose not to change.

The recurring theme in Steele's statements is people and place. Indeed, the two appear to be indivisible.

Geographers were pre-occupied with the description of "places" in regional geography for most of this century, only focussing on space and spatial location since the 1960s (see Eyre, 1973). Scientific geographers most often use view the world from a geometric, spatial perspective, and consider the depiction of place by humanists to be "mere description" (Pickles, 1985). Hence, "the choice was between describing the unique or seeking general, i.e. scientific, laws" (Pickles, 1985, 29). There appears to be a split in geography at the ontological level, between place as location (see Tuan, 1975b), and place as the fundamental expression of people's involvement in the world (Relph, 1973, 62: in Entrikin, 1976, 626). A definition of place should include instead "a location and an integration of nature and culture: (Walmsley and Lewis, 1984, 160, emphasis added). As Gussow (1971) says:

We never speak, for example, of an environment we have known, and recall. We are homesick for places, we are reminded of places, it is the sounds and smells and sights of places which haunt us and against which we often measure our present . . . All of us have our loved places; all of us have laid claim to parts of the earth; and all of us, whether we know it or not, are in some measure the products of our sense of place. (27-28, emphasis added).

Using the phenomenological view of Heidegger, place becomes more than a spatial location. It is a "total phenomenon which cannot be reduced to any of its properties without losing its nature"; it is "a whole, consisting of concrete material things with a form, texture and color of their own, with its particular odors, memories, and desires" (in Ponsi, 1985, 218-219; see also Relph, 1985). Dovey (1985a, 94) states that "places are widely conceived of as having an essential component of character, identity or 'spirit'." People commonly personalize and identify their familiar, home environment through short sayings, such as "it's a good place to live" and "this is my place", as opposed to feeling "out of place" or "displaced".

Tuan (1974a, 233) has asserted that "place means primarily two things: one's position in society and spatial location". Alexander et al (1977) link these two views of place, noting that the relationship of built form to social position is clearly evident in the hierarchical nature

of designed places. Entrikin (1976, 626) notes that Tuan divides places into "two broad classes: one is known through purely visual means; the other is known through more prolonged experience" (see also Tuan, 1974a, 236-245). The former is labelled the "public symbol" (e.g. a monument or sculpture), and the latter a "field of care" (e.g. a home, tavern, marketplace or park).

In the 1970s, humanistic geographers rebelled against the logical positivist, spatial emphasis in geography by using a phenomenological approach; they brought people, together with all their emotions, back into discussions of place. Their descriptions of place are characterized by general, often sentimental, statements (Walker, 1985):

place as the "focus of meanings or intentions either culturally or individually determined" (Relph, 1973, 55: in Entrikin, 1976, 626);

place "incarnates the experience and aspirations of people" (Tuan, 1974a, 213: in Entrikin, 1976, 626);

places as the "sources of security and identity for individuals and for groups of people" (Relph, 1976, 6);

"place is a center of meaning constructed by experience" (Tuan, 1975, 152), or a "focus where we experience the meaningful events of our existence" (Norberg-Schulz, 1971, 19: in Relph, 1976, 42);

"people are their place and a place is its people" (Relph, 1976, 34);

"place, person, time and act form an indivisible unity" (Wagner, 1972, 49: in Relph, 1976, 44);

"all places are small worlds" (Tuan, 1974a, 245); and,

"a man is his place" (Ley, 1977, 508).

The humanistic focus has been criticized as being anthropocentric, individualistic (see Ley, 1978, 1981b, 1983a), and often romanticized (Clay, 1983), but it does provide balance to a rational, detached view of place. The humanistic approach is clarified in Chapter 4, while place discussion is expanded in Chapter 3 through a review of place identity and place attachment.

## 2.2 People's Movements Through Space and Time

A description of people's movements through space provides an obverse view of their centered feelings for place. The temporal dimension is set apart from space (and place) in the English language. Seddon (1972, 260-261) reminds us that "our language is poor in words of place", having the word "timely", but no equivalent, "placely". However, time and space are

inseparable in all cultures: "the actions and events of an individual's existence have both temporal and spatial attributes" (Pred, 1977, 208).

Pred (1977) reviews Hagerstrand's time geography, devised to bring the chronological dimension back into geographical research. Hagerstrand recognized the "life path" of individuals through time-space, reminding us that people do not lead independent existences, but are instead participants within an "activity system". An indigenous view of time is not linear in outlook, melding the past and future with the present. All people move through time in growing older (with maturation the usual result), while spending time in a place through length of residence often results in the development of a sense of place. Places, communities, families, tribes and cultures themselves change over time. Thus the chronological dimension cannot be neglected in geographical studies of place (see also Guelke, 1977).

Movement through space, through being distant from "home", is a common means by which modern people achieve perspective on their sense of place. A literary theme, from Homer's Odyssey to the present day, is a desire to leave and then return to the confines of home. On a long-distance journey a realization of the depth of attachment to home is reached (through homesickness), often followed by a return "home". As Murton (1979, 31) relates in a discussion on "the drudgery of place": "Our experience of place, especially of home, is a dialectical one - balancing a need to stay with a desire to escape."

Chatwin (1987) reminds us that "Natural Selection has designed us - from the structure of our brain-cells to the structure of our big toe - for a career of seasonal journeys on foot through a blistering land of thorn-scrub or desert" (181-182):

'The Way' was first used as a technical term for 'road' or 'migration path' - before being adopted by the mystics to denote 'the Way to God'. (223).

He asserts that "man's vitality lies in movement", which makes people become "human again" (as distinct from being confined in a settlement: 216 and 224).

Life itself could be considered a "journey". Some modern people still make pilgrimages to holy places, while many others feel it necessary to "do the sights" of distant, foreign lands. Indigenous peoples often undergo some form of migration for their hunting and gathering, in rhythm with the cycles of nature. Chatwin tells us (219) that "in Middle English the word 'progress' meant a 'journey', particularly a 'seasonal journey' or 'circuit'".

There is hardship and suffering in continuous travel (note the similarity with the word 'travail': Chatwin, 1987, 215). Chatwin says that among animal species there is:

a general rule of biology: migratory species are less 'aggressive' than sedentary ones . . . the migration itself is the hard journey, a 'leveller' on which the 'fit' survive and stragglers fall by the wayside . . . the need for hierarchies and shows of dominance [come from] . . . the 'dictators' of the animal kingdom . . . those who live [settled] in an ambience of plenty. (304).

A modern way of life is based on settlement, often in large urban centres. Chatwin asserts that "psychiatrists, politicians, tyrants are forever assuring us that the wandering life is an aberrant form of behaviour; a neurosis; a form of unfulfilled sexual longing; a sickness which, in the interests of civilization, must be suppressed" (199). Modern people continue to be quite mobile, however, in many different forms.

The mobility of people is reviewed in the next sub-section, which is primarily concerned with modern peoples. The spatial extent of place feelings that result from repeated movement in one place over time (and culture contact in that place) is covered in the subsequent sub-section.

### 2.2.1 Mobility and Migration

Mobility is different from migration, in that a person's home provides the anchor for local journeys in mobility, while migration involves both the journey and moving one's home to a new location. Moving in some form seems to be part of human nature: As with many animal and bird species which make annual migrations of great distances between winter and summer ranges, many people, be they nomads, farm labourers or those going on holidays or off to work, are on the move.

There is a contrast between those people who stay, and those who move on. The latter category includes vagabonds, adventurers, refugees and more typical household movers, while within the former lie both "homeless" street people and the "settled" folks of suburbia. Those who are rooted to a place may choose not to move, remaining to live in hazardous environments in the face of natural disaster (see Burton et al, 1978) or war.

There are many dimensions to human movement, and all have an impact on sense of place. Among modern people these include the pace of one's personal movevents in daily life; local mobility, as in commuting and longer trips from home; cyclical migration; local moves; long-distance moves and emigration; and return migration. A conceptual overview of these

movements is presented in Fig. 2-2. Modern people are very mobile, largely due to the availability of modern modes of transportation.

Urbanites' personal movements are often rushed; urban commuters and school children journey twice daily to and from home. Many other trips are made, for shopping, recreation, entertainment, visiting family and friends, and functional tasks. Travels to facilitate courtship are often confined by topography and available modes of transport within an "action space" (see Perry, 1969), the space where a person regularly travels (Horton and Reynolds, 1969), as are most other trips. Such local travels help to familiarize a person with the region surrounding home. Over many years of residence these journeys normally aid in building a sense of place (Hay, 1986).

Besides the availability of modern transportation and the separation of the home place from the work (or school) place, mobility is increasing due to a shift in the household composition of modern society. Recent studies have shown a decline in the traditional nuclear family in Western countries (see Stapleton, 1980; New Zealand Planning Council, 1989); only about 40 per cent of homes now have a father, mother and children residing within their walls. The mother often works now, the couple may not be married, and their "family" may include children from previous marriages. Divorces often cause the relocation of (part of) the family, with children now journeying to see one of their (former) parents (or vice versa). Single-parent families may have to live in lower-income neighbourhoods, and may move more often, creating a "history of mobility" in children, which can foster further mobility in adulthood (see Fischer and Stueve, 1977).

Other forms of migration involve a more permanent, yet temporary, move. In cyclical and polygonal migration a person moves regularly between two households (cyclical), or between three or more households (polygonal: Roseman, 1988). This is often in a seasonal pattern, for work (as with farm labourers) or holidays. In New Zealand, many families own a "bach" (holiday home), where they spend their summer holidays "far from the madding crowd"; this translates to the "summer cottage" in Canada. There are also people who shift residences for long periods of times, as in Canadians spending the winter in Florida. In this fashion links to a permanent residence are maintained, while the novelty of a new region is added.

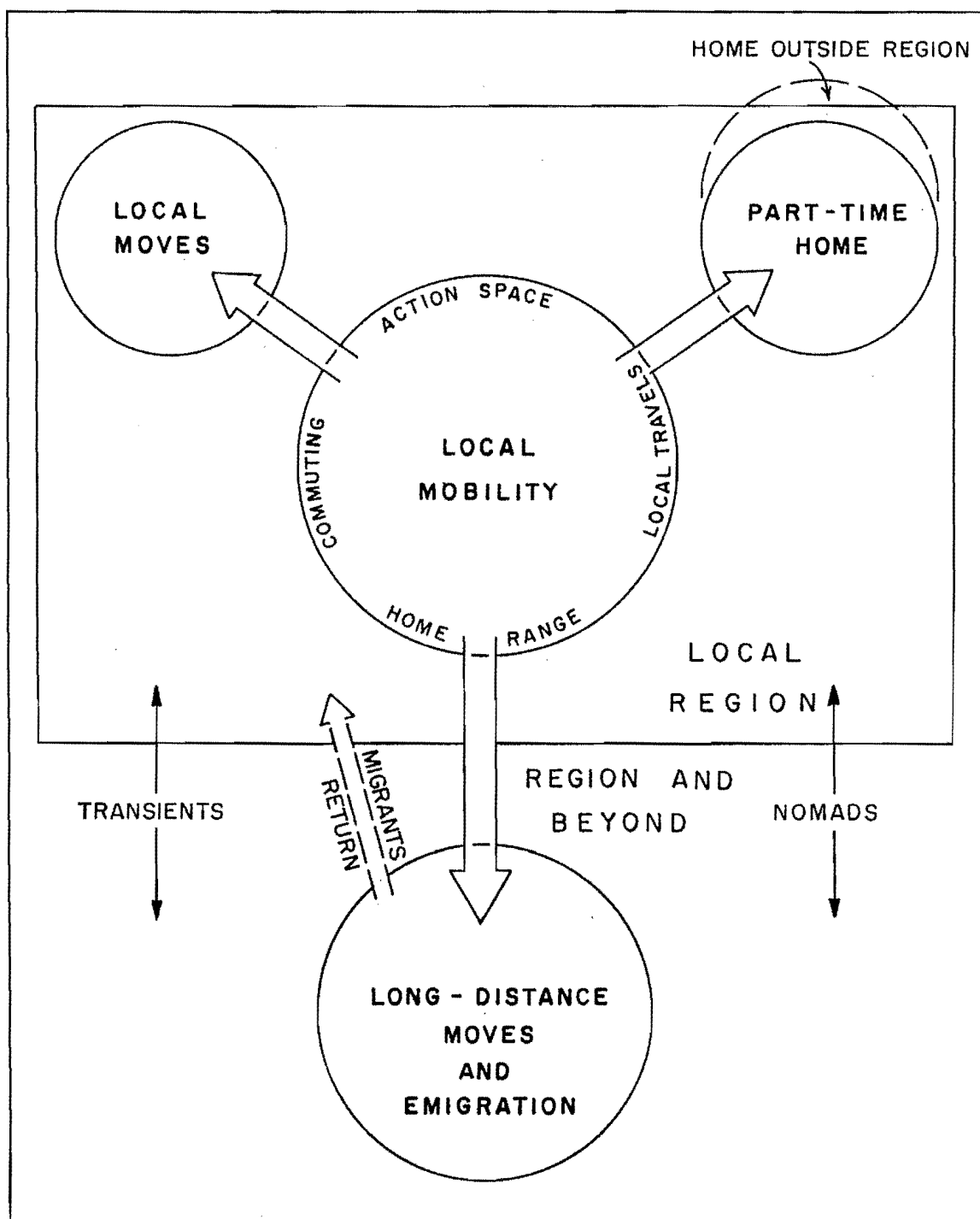


Figure 2-2: People's movement through space.



People who often move residences usually do this locally: 61.9 per cent of all moves per year in the United States are local ones, according to Shumaker and Conti (1985, 246). For such local mobility, a simple dissatisfaction with housing may be the cause of wanting to shift, and better living conditions the result (Fischer and Stueve, 1977). Among modern peoples upward mobility is thus a principal reason to move, as is relocation for work (Long, 1988, Chap. 7, 239; see also Lewis, 1982). The behavioural literature has focussed on people's "willingness to move", and constraints on their ability to move (see Rapoport, 1985, 258). Fischer and Stueve (1977, 179) remark that "people with the most to gain, the least to lose, and the most resources to use in making a move are the most likely to move". Taylor and Townsend (1976), in a study of sense of place in rural England, found that those with few local ties, professional qualifications and a history of mobility are the most likely to move on. Shumaker and Taylor (1983) indicate that:

. . . mobility rates remain high in the United States (around 20 per cent per year) . . . the majority of moves occur within very short distances . . . and the mobility statistics are dominated by the 'chronic migrators'. (222).

Voluntary relocation decisions were seen by Shumaker and Taylor to be "based on the changing residential needs of growing (and shrinking) families rather than their dissatisfaction with the community"; these decisions were therefore linked to the "life-cycle stage" of a person (1983, 223-224). Roseman and Oldakowski (1984, 105) found that age (and student status) were the most important variables in determining migration expectations for a sample of Chicago residents. Roseman and Oldakowski further found that people with strong ties to places outside Chicago (to close relatives especially, but also to a regular vacation place or to close friends) were more likely to move to the locale where they had such external ties. The importance of having visited a place prior to making a decision to move there was also emphasized by Roseman (1983, 310).

There are many people who would like to move, but who are unable to: "alternatives [for moving] do not exist for certain segments of our population" (Shumaker and Taylor, 1983, 224, concerning the United States). Redevelopment of inner urban slums has also forcibly displaced people, causing grief (Fried, 1963). Theory on the effects (on movers) of moving has changed in the social literature, however, from one of "social disintegration" to one of few "adverse consequences" (Stokols et al, 1983, 6; see also, Packard, 1972). Based on

an empirical study in the United States, Stokols et al report that mobile persons who were "exploratory" (i.e. their frequent relocation was more consistent with their personal goals and aspirations) actually had fewer health problems than low mobility persons, as the latter had less choice and may have had to remain in a lower quality environment (15-16). They conclude that:

frequent residential change is a potentially stressful life pattern whose effects on health depend upon the perceived quality of the individual's current situation at home and at work, and on temporal factors such as his or her perceptions of earlier residences, time spent in the current residence, and perceived availability of attractive housing options. (15).

Long-distance moves are a more permanent form of migration, and are quite common in modernized nations. Within the United States, Long (1988, 33) notes that 10 per cent of people moved interstate between 1975 and 1980; overall, Shumaker and Conti (1985, 237) report that "approximately 20 per cent, or about 40 million individuals, move from one residence to another each year; and, within a 5-year period, almost half of the United States population relocates at least once." The five-year rate is similar for Australia (48%), and somewhat lower for Canada (44%), Great Britain and Japan (36%), but it is still fairly high (Stokols et al, 1983, 5). Moving occurs more often on average in the United States, though, and is estimated at 14/lifetime (Heller, 1982; Kroger, 1980), as opposed to 7/lifetime in Japan and 8/lifetime in Britain (Long and Boertlein, 1976; see also Long, 1988, Chap. 8).

A relocation does not have to be deleterious. However, this may be the case in a long-distance move, especially in emigration to a foreign country. Porteous (1976, 388) has stated that:

the transfer of an individual from a 'felt home' to a 'euphemistic home' is usually traumatic. Bereft of family, of familiar space, of psychic connections, the removed person frequently suffers a drastic decline in health.

In a new place it may be harder to set up a "stable social network" (Conger, 1981). Modern technology allows long-distance friends and family to keep in touch easily, but friends may be lost after moving out of a region; Stutz (1973) found a distance-decay pattern in the frequency of visits to friends in far-off places.

Emigration to a foreign country makes the realization of one's home experience all the more poignant. Feelings for the country of origin remain long after migration. Homesickness is the usual response of immigrants cut off from their "home" (see Rees, 1982), with

depression common due both to a sense of loss and to "culture shock". To combat feelings of homesickness and to continue their learned economic patterns, immigrants often try to partially recreate their (former) homeland in their new land (see Tuan, 1977, Chap. 11). They also introduce plants and animals from their homeland, and leave their cultural imprint on the landscape, reminding them of home.

Because of such enduring ties to home, migration which appears to be permanent may not be so. Studies of return migration have shown that up to 20 per cent of migrants return to their state (for the United States: Long, 1988, Chap. 4) or country of origin. This has been found to be linked to the life cycle, in which people in their mid-twenties are highest in both leaving and returning to their state (Long, 131); to changing household composition (see previous discussion); and to ties to close friends and family (Roseman and Oldakowski, 1984). Long (239) notes that many older people (fifty plus in age) in the United States move to be closer to a relative (12.8 per cent in 50-54 age bracket, increasing to 44.7 per cent for those over 70 years of age), and because their children are now grown up and gone. Widows are the largest group in the oldest age bracket, often leaving a retirement home in a sun-belt state to return to "family". For those who moved from a beloved home, never to return, their final wish is often to "go home" to die (or to be buried there: see Comeaux, 1988-89; Rowles and Comeaux, 1986-87, 1987).

One's sense of place is therefore built up through many years of residence in one locale and still anchored there by family and friends, and often anchors a person to one locale, reducing the likelihood of a permanent move out of the region of familiarity. Sense of place is also not necessarily cast aside forever when one makes a seemingly "permanent" move: return migration is a common phenomenon. The difficulty in returning, though, is that a place often changes greatly during a long absence, and close friends and family members may have moved on. And so, a long-distance move may have far-reaching negative effects, many of which may not have been deeply considered prior to moving.

Among modern peoples a complex pattern of mobility and migration has emerged. It seems that modern people still maintain a nomadic existence to a degree through periodic moving, with some form of home - be it house or mobile home - keeping them in one place. Their mobility extends to trips away from home, as in daily excursions and short holidays.

Because of this, little time is spent in the home (the suburbs have been called 'bedroom communities'), and one's place of residence may change often. The glue that binds modern people to home - the nuclear family - is also changing in composition. Sense of place may thus seem to be less important to modern people, but the desire for a "home place" usually persists in some form (Seamon, 1987c, 19).

Indigenous people often migrate seasonally, but seldom leave their tribal lands. Nomadic tribes may wander further, but the region over which they travel is still very familiar to them. An indigenous sense of place appears to be strongly rooted in both cosmology and in their ancestral connections to place (see Chapter 1). The mythical treatment of space fills the world with wonder: spirits inhabit all things, and are just as real as tangible objects. As such, indigenous peoples are constantly involved with their place, unable to take it for granted. Since they are not separate from that place in thoughts and actions, these peoples have truly become part of their place. There are not the divisions between home, community, region and nation in the tribal view of space. Conceptually they do not leave their place, even in nomadic migrations, because in their minds they are their place.

### 2.2.2 The Spatial Extent of Place Feelings

Regular activities in one place over a long period of time, together with culture contact, normally create feelings of territoriality and attachment to place among people. Marsh (1988) notes that in both traditional (i.e. indigenous) and modern human cultures, large-scale territories beyond the private realm are defended, due to ecological and economic factors, such as to defend access to scarce resources. He goes on to say that:

What is common to all human societies is their need for a sense of "place" - a feeling of living in an environment which has boundaries and identity. (27).

Behavioural research on territoriality shows that once people have developed a sense of place, they can become motivated to defend their place. Jones and Eyles (1977) describe a "body territory" (personal space), an "interactional territory" (the area where a social gathering may occur), a "home territory" (embodying the concepts of private property and of regular action space), and a "public territory" (the area to which a variety of people have access to). Malmberg notes that "emotions such as aggression, defense, and fear of intrusion" are normally the foci in behavioural studies of territoriality (in Seamon, 1982, 132). Employing a

phenomenological approach enlarges the emotional range of place feelings under study to include "care, sentiment, concern, warmth, love and sacredness" (Seamon, 132).

Home is the space where one feels the greatest sense of intimacy and control (see Porteous, 1976), and is directly linked with modern people's sense of place. The home is the centre of a modern person's space, with territoriality even stronger there if the person is also an insider in the local region, having attained that status through long residence. Marsh (1988, 30) calls such space a "primary territory". He says that this scale of territory is a common feature of all cultures, and that it belongs "exclusively to an individual or a small group" (30). On home territories people feel secure and "tend to display dominance over others . . . in someone else's primary space they show appropriate signs of deference and submission" (30).

If a strong feeling of both dwelling and identification is maintained in the home, a feeling of "at homeness" can occur. People commonly "leave home", but homesickness can bring them back again. People are also known to have a "home range" around their home (see Stanton, 1986), with varying degrees of physical and symbolic boundaries associated with that range. The view of one's home normally changes with age, especially if there have been travels away from home for long periods. An affinity for the type of place where one was raised may develop as well (Norberg-Schulz, 1977).

Modern people often develop ties to their home place, and attempt to become connected in some way with the community, neighbourhood, and/or workplace in which they reside. Beyond the primary territory lie these secondary ones, characterized by "less exclusive spaces" (Marsh, 1988, 30). Many people, indigenous and modern, have quite an affection for their region or city, defending it against inappropriate development, uncaring outsiders and environmental degradation. In this way people exhibit a regional consciousness and an attachment to place.

Four views of the spatial extent of sense of place are presented in Figure 2-3. "Indigenous" is contrasted with "modern", in that the former view has less divisions conceptually. These two generalized views are also contrasted by more specialized ones, those of "urban" and "division of labour/education". As society becomes more complex, these specialized views are more often conceived by individuals. The following discussion will further explain this specialized treatment of space.

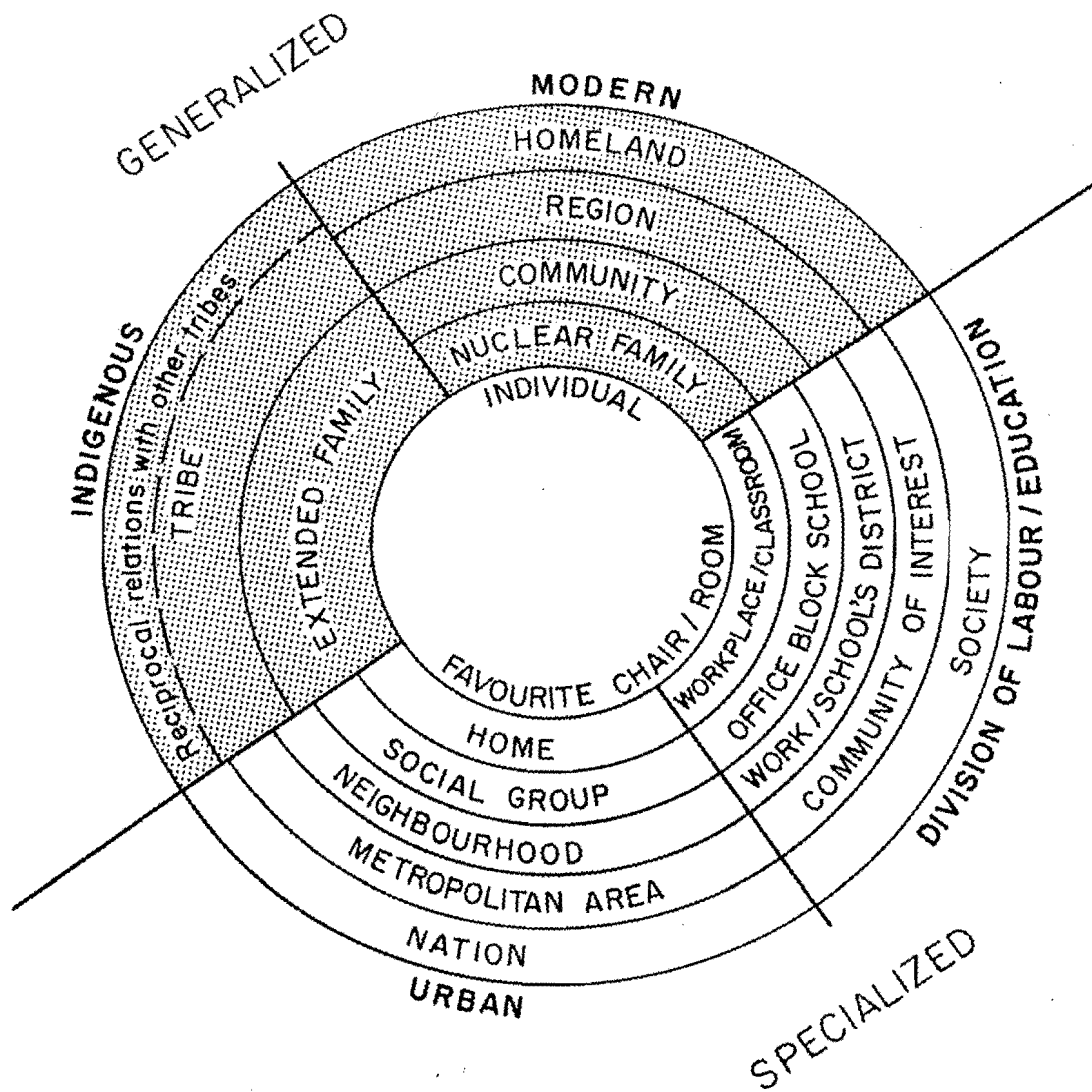


Figure 2-3: The spatial extent of sense of place: Four views.

Within a place it appears that most people need to develop bonds to both the place and to a group of like-minded inhabitants. Becoming an "insider" allows feelings of security and status to arise. People tend to make distinctions between insiders and outsiders: a person becomes an insider if born and raised in a place, or through long residence. It seems natural for people to be "insiders looking inward" (Hay, 1988). Among modern peoples this may be a carry-over from our tribal past as hunter-gatherers; we repel strangers at first, treating them with suspicion. Once they have demonstrated their friendliness, we accept those most like ourselves (see Lofland, 1973; Marsh, 1988; Tuan, 1986). Insiders have their own rituals, their own slang and dialect, and they dislike negative comments about their place by outsiders, linking such comments to their own identity (Hay, 1988).

Insiders, both tribal and modern, must also grudgingly accept some newcomers into their midst to stimulate them with new ideas and vitality, and to broaden their genepool. Forming a bond to a place automatically seems to make that place the "best place" in one's mind. Negative attributes of the place are downplayed (and rationalized away in comparison with other places to maintain one's sanity: i.e. to be able to stay in that place), with ample agreement on the place's good points available from other insiders (Hay, 1988).

Insiders can relate to each other on many levels such as family, community or neighbourhood, region or tribe, and nation. In normal peacetime conditions, the local level of this feeling is expressed most strongly. Among modern people, when war has been declared between nations, or when there is civil war, national patriotism or regionalism respectively may be more important. National or regional commemorations can also elicit such feelings. At the local level, however, the reciprocal relationship between individual homes and a community or tribe brings about the strongest feelings of territoriality. Communities with a heritage that is evident in tangible symbols (e.g. historical buildings and monuments); which have distinctive "characters" for residents (past and present); which have members who are involved in community clubs and events; and which are on a "human scale" (Sale, 1980) of small population size are better equipped to support the development of community spirit, and (consequently) such territorial feelings.

A mosaic of different types of modern people who are similar in some ways, and different sub-regions within a place, tend to become fairly cohesive in one region (Hay, 1986;

Vidal de la Blache in Buttimer, 1969). The regional consciousness of its inhabitants is apparent in the "cultural landscape", the human imprint on the land (e.g. rural farmland or urban ghettos). Such landscapes both reflect and reinforce the behaviour and attitudes of inhabitants in a place. Distinctive physical environments (e.g. barren deserts, foggy seacoasts and tropical jungles) influence people to a large degree as well. Thus people develop a sense of place which mirrors a particular place setting and society in a specific era of time. There is a range of variation among the human groups (and individuals) present, but, because a degree of homogeneity is obvious to an observant outsider, this range seldom varies markedly (Hay, 1986).

The social dimension of territoriality is explained by Chombart de Lauwe, a French sociologist. He defined subjective social space as "a space perceived by members of particular human groups" (in Lee, 1976, 165). A hierarchy of spaces, within which groups live, move and interact, is said to begin with "familial space", then "neighbourhood space", and proceeds outward to "economic space" (daily and weekly routines), "urban regional space" (monthly and yearly routines), and "the world", for occasional forays (see Fig. 2-3; see also Buttimer, 1969; Porteous, 1977, 92).

The region one feels bonded to and territorial about is limited mostly to that area which can become well known through regular travels from a home base (Hay, 1986). This "action space" is delineated by topography, access routes, private property and fear of the unknown (Hay, 1986). People's operational space is also partly defined by communications, through radio and television reception, long distance telephone rates, newspaper and magazine availability, postal service, and regional dialects (Hay, 1986). Fewer restrictions on communications lately through satellite links and cable television have, however, expanded that operational space. A modern person's "place" has thus been extended further in space than has been the case with more traditional peoples.

Modern people are subject to mass communications, which, according to Meyrowitz (1985), reduce the uniqueness of their own place; they may be able to relate to other modern people in far-off places through knowledge of important news items and current television series, but Meyrowitz asserts that they have "no sense of place". The most familiar area is still



that of the region, though, as it is the place of habitual contact where one feels comfortable and secure doing functional, repetitive tasks (Hay, 1988).

Existential space (an area of shared meaning: Samuels, 1978) is a good descriptor for the regional realm of a person's sense of place. Intimate local knowledge of one's place is maintained through regular travels, gossip and the news media, while human contacts are renewed through family, community, leisure and work involvements (Hay, 1986). One's homeland (see Tuan, 1977) gradually becomes defined by such travels, topographical barriers and routines, solidifying in a person's mind the place where he or she feels the most comfortable and secure (Hay, 1986).

Within this homeland there are decreasing zones of meaning as a (modern) person goes further from home, as in social space. However, some points further away than others may be more important (e.g. special places for outdoor recreation, homes of friends and family, and entertainment spots). In those cases a form of perception called "lived distance" may make the actual distance to them appear shorter, since the places are well liked and the routes well travelled (Bollnow, 1967).

When a larger territorial scale is "tied to other human bonds such as ethnicity or nationality" (Entrikin, 1976, 627), strong bonds may result. Patriotism is the extension of territorial feelings of loyalty to a nation-state (Tuan, 1976b), with war a common defence reaction. Larger realms of national and continental dimensions, may help put a local sense of place in context, but such scales do not allow intimate contacts with one place that are regularly renewed. These dimensions are thus not connected directly with the life of an inhabitant in an experiential sense through detailed, personal knowledge (Hay, 1988, concerning modern people).

These intimate scales are reviewed further in the next section - with particular attention to modern people's emotional feelings for their home and community - to provide increased understanding of the relationship between such scales and sense of place.

## 2.3 Home and Community

### 2.3.1 Home

Modern people's sense of home is at the core of their sense of place. Without some form of home feeling it is doubtful whether a region could evoke the same level of attachment.

Space and place are fairly abstract realms to most people, but when "home" is said it evokes an instant appraisal of one's personal life. A knowledge of how people regard their home environment, creating intimate places, thus provides a more detailed insight into how sense of place develops and is maintained.

A "home" feeling, developed after years of residence in one house, is enhanced through the dwelling experience, where security in one's private place is assured. These mementos which "turn a house into a home" are also shifted in local moves, so that a home feeling may be more rapidly established in a new residence. A sense of home is consolidated by reflection. A "home" feeling can be enhanced by the social belonging that is engendered through a strong, positive community spirit. When a place has become familiar and is benign, there is usually a display of quiet contentment about living there (see Relph, 1976, on 'existential insiders'). To such people "place" is merely the locus where their lives "take place" in their existential space of shared meaning.

Control and privacy are commonly associated with a modern person's notion of home, as are feelings of security and personal renewal. The affection for home, including feelings of territoriality, are shown by the following common (modern) sayings:

I'm going - or leaving - home	I feel homesick
make yourself at home	home sweet home
there's no place like home	home is where the heart is
the home team	a man's home is his castle

Feeling "at home", however, can merely refer to a state of mind: a person could be at home wherever a certain degree of comfort is achieved (Porteous, 1976, 390). As Buttimer queries: "Does home always coincide with residence?" (1976, 284). A home is different from a house, though; the former has connotations of warmth, meaning and a personal place, while the latter is simply a built structure (see Lawrence, 1987). Dovey states that the concept of home covers both "physical and symbolic boundaries", together with the "familiarity of past experiences"; "home as territory also involves a kind of home range that can include neighborhood, town, and landscape." (1985b, 36-37).

Korosec-Serfaty (1984, 304) asserts that there are "polar tensions" in the home on a spatial level (front/back, left/right); a psychological level (clean/dirty); and a social level

(public/private). There is a "constant tidiness and stage-setting in the living-room, seen as a 'front region' of the home" (304). Dovey (1985b, 41) notes that there is a "house/body metaphor", as the house is "commonly experienced as a symbolic body", with distinctions between up/down, front/rear, and left/right.

Saegert (1985, 292) states that "in most societies, housing provides a primary space for eating, sleeping, storing and cooking food, having sex, caring for children and the sick, clothing oneself, and the like" . . . these functions are "performed in ways that have deep cultural and individual significance", continuing "traditional patterns of meaning and behavior". An example of one routine, the family meal, is described by Lawrence (1987, 160) to show the significance of such rituals:

. . . the total food system not only suggests what food is eaten, how it is embellished, when it is served, and who is present at the table, but also where the food is served and eaten.

Lawrence (1987, 163) further notes that "homes are rarely a set of personal spaces, but include communal or shared rooms and domestic facilities". Rapoport (1985, 276-277) adds that: "Furnishings and mementos play a major role in communication of identity and status. They help take possession of space and reflect people's lives, travels, experiences, places lived, family ties". The area inside the home reflects cultural and social conventions and values; "sociodemographic variables including age, gender, household structure, and religious beliefs" have been studied in this respect (see Lawrence, 1987, 156-159). Hence people create "home environments" that typify the personalities of their inhabitants (Cooper, 1974; Duncan, 1985).

A home is a personal place, providing shelter and security (Tuan, 1977, Chap. 10). If a "happy family" lives there for many years, it can foster a sense of identity for the family members, and promote their personal growth (see Steele, 1981, 87-89; Sommer, 1969). There can also be a "segmentation of self" due to the partitioning of space in the modern home (Tuan, 1982). There are private places in the home, from bedrooms to attics and cellars; these are the "hidden spaces of dwelling", which provide a repository for memories and the means to maintain self-identity (Korosec-Serfaty, 1984, 304 and 316-317; see also Relph, 1976, 36-37).

The Western conception of home is typically a single-family, detached dwelling, which is owned by the family (and its bank); little is mentioned in the literature of people living in apartments, row houses, duplexes, or communal townhouses, let alone in "temporary" homes (e.g. cottages, time-share condominiums, motorhomes, etc.: see Behr and Gober, 1982). Consequently, the physical notion of "home" can vary in definition. Korosec-Serfaty (1985, 70) describes a home feeling as "the sum of immobility, of stability, and of continuity that every being needs in order to weave the links between identity and essence constantly. After wandering, it is the place where one experiences the return to unity with oneself".

For a home to be loved, more than just habitation is at issue. The warmth of family and/or many fond memories are needed. The feeling of "dwelling" is discussed in Chapter 3; the community, the social context for a home feeling, is presented next.

### 2.3.2 Community

A community can be defined using spatial dimensions or as a community of interest. Both categories are useful for studying sense of place. Because of the reciprocal relationship of meaning between residents and their community, each helps to create feelings of identity and security for the other. This occurs most strongly when there is a "home" feeling amongst community members, as in dwelling and stability. People in a small community also often have the same community of interest (e.g. among different community clubs). In a spatially-defined community a sense of place is more easily developed, as the place itself is more identifiable and can be symbolized: over time the community's spirit becomes part of an inhabitant's being. A community with less spirit would thus not enhance the development of a sense of place.

The interaction between residents of a spatial community on a day-to-day basis, in the use of focal shops and services (and the community hall), in participation in community clubs and events, and in social get-togethers develops a sense of community. Everyone knows everyone else in a small community; this can be either positive (providing support in times of need) or negative (e.g. malicious gossip, a lack of anonymity, and little privacy). Similarly, traditions give a sense of solidity and continuity to a community, but they may stifle innovation with conservatism.

A community may be identified by its relationship with the natural environment, through the study of human ecology, where the important functions that enable the community to carry on its daily life are analyzed objectively (see Eyles, 1985, 64-65). Communities are more commonly defined, however, by frontiers, a centre, notable citizens and heritage. Heritage is built layer upon layer, through important social events and the involvement of key residents. Community heritage comes alive in the recounting of bygone days by storytellers, and is noticeable in prominent public symbols to commemorate historical events, as in icons derived from statues of civic leaders, museums, war memorials, plaques and historic buildings. Many of the "characters" who helped shape the community may now be dead or have moved on, but they are remembered in memories, photographs, museums and cemeteries.

Community spirit becomes tangible through sporting contests against "outsiders"; reactions against new (large-scale) development; helping out in times of personal grief and community need; and the desire of former-members to go "back home" to see their home town again. Community spirit is often strongest in the most inhospitable places (e.g. in the 'wastelands' of the Arctic or the 'outback' of Australia), where there are large distances between neighbours; it also surfaces during periods of collective duress, such as war or economic depression.

Drengson (1981, 1-2) notes that: "A community involves a group of people who live in a common neighborhood or environment, and who share a number of common values and a way of life" . . . these are "people who are mutually inter-dependent, and who have a variety of reciprocal relationships" (see also Hillary, 1955). Such relationships are often built upon inter-marriage: the extended family may encompass most members of a small community. Drengson adds (3) that a community "transcends the particular individual lives that make it up. It binds the present to the past and to the future. It provides cultural continuity, and is the smallest unit of self-sufficiency". A community is thus a "whole", and "makes possible the realization of our highest values" (4).

There is danger, though, that centralizing forces have reduced the viability of many small communities (Buttimer, 1980). Mechanization in the middle of this century released the majority of farm labourers from their toil in First World countries, fostering a subsequent urban shift in population. This rapid urbanization swallowed up many small towns on the

periphery of cities (see Russwurm, 1977). The "core-periphery" relationship between large cities and nearby towns has become a common phenomenon, with the economies of small towns dominated by urban activities and decisions.

The viability of small towns is lessened in the application of economic policy at the national or multi-national level; the politics of efficiency for the majority outweighs the needs of the few. The small towns that endure may have skewed age-sex demographic profiles, as the cities have lured away their best and brightest, especially their vital young adults. Few small towns prosper these days unless they are bedroom communities for cities, on the crest of a local resource boom, or a tourism centre. Sale (1980), however, has argued that small communities on a "human scale" are a better form of living for people in the long term.

Within cities the community concept has been replaced at times by the neighbourhood. This transition has not been very successful, since neighbourhoods are seldom as cohesive, identifiable or self-supporting, with less mechanism available for local interaction (Dennis, 1968). Neighbours in urban environments often know each other less than those in small communities because of lessened interaction in city neighbourhoods. However, remaining in one community for a lifetime is also an "out of place" concept in the modern age: having such "roots" is on the wane. The consequences of this shift in modern people's way of life have hardly been considered.

## CHAPTER 3

### A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR SENSE OF PLACE

The knowledge presented in Chapter 2 provides an introduction to sense of place studies; detailing additional information under the headings used in that chapter would make it difficult to see further connections with sense of place. A better understanding of sense of place requires integration of this information at the conceptual level. An overview of my conception of sense of place will be presented first, followed by integration of material.

Sense of place can be conceived either as a person's "place" in society; as a meaningful relationship of belonging between person and place; or as an aesthetic appreciation of a place. I have chosen a conception which includes all three, but which emphasizes the relationship between person and place. A person's place in society has received more attention from sociologists than geographers, while the aesthetic appreciation of place is more of an artistic, romantic description of the phenomenon.

Steele (1981) has made a useful, but general, distinction between (modern) "place people", who feel that place ties are important, and "non-place people", who focus on their own activities and relationships with people, only noticing their (weak) place ties when their livelihood is threatened. There are also people who like to stay in a place and form roots, as opposed to others who prefer to move on, as transients. The latter group may be more oriented to finding new experiences as adventurers, than they are to developing place bonds; they also may live a nomadic lifestyle, or could simply be vagabonds. Additionally, people who live temporarily in a place may have no desire to develop bonds to that place.

Tuan (1980b) contrasts sense of place with rootedness, characterizing the former as self-conscious and the latter as a state of being. My experience with two sets of respondents, in the Cowichan Valley and Banks Peninsula, demonstrates, however, that this is an

unwarranted abstraction. An appreciation of one's place is central, attained through many possible means, such as moving away for awhile, or growing older. Without some type of perspective, sensitivity to one's surroundings may be minimal.

The sensing of one's place, however, is only one aspect of sense of place. A sensing element, affected by perceptual, spatial and structural constraints, and a bonding element, involving emotions, motives, insider traits, length of residence and taken-for-grantedness are both involved in the development of a person's sense of place (Hay, 1988). Repeated, personal experience in one place aids in this development (Hay, 1986). Among modern people, sense of place is an individually-based but group-informed, place-specific, personal means of relating to the world. In this way mere space is transformed into a personal place, thus making "sense" of the world (Hay, 1988; see also Eyles, 1985).

The effect on people who have developed a strong sense of place is most apparent to an outsider: such people appear secure, rooted, at ease, territorial and quietly proud. After a long while in one place, most people tend to become part of their place. Their sense of belonging, satisfaction and familiarity with their place is obvious; the benefits of living a whole, contextual life in their place are evident in their unassuming manner (Hay, 1988). This contextual aspect of sense of place has seldom been given enough attention in previous research: individuals (and their feelings) were often the foci of data collection, with social networks, community, and the place itself playing supporting roles.

The cosmology of a society conditions sense of place. Indigenous people are very different from modern people, as the former have a lack of conscious separation between person and world; a sacred instead of an abstract conception of space; and a group identity. Cosmological influences, though, are seldom considered by culture members, indigenous or modern, or by researchers of sense of place. Bonnemaïson (1984), and Murton (1979, 1987) and Yoon (1986) are three geographers who have provided insights into these matters (see Chapter 1). Material can be assessed on related research by anthropologists on cultural ecology, the adaptation of cultures to different natural environments (see Hammond, 1978, 472-475), and by cultural geographers on the processes creating landscape and the properties of human-environment relations (see Norton, 1987, 28). Neither field, however, offers direct theoretical insights into the development of sense of place.



Broadly speaking, it can be said that the physical aspects of a person's place and the cultural ways associated with that place seem to "rub off" on an inhabitant. Mere association with a place over a long time has a powerful effect. The culture has created a norm, the place a habitat (Hay, 1988). These features then combine to form a personal sense of place that is place-specific at a local or regional scale. Empirical research needs to be conducted, however, to see how the contexts of culture and place affect sense of place. It must also be remembered that both people and places change over time (see Pred, 1983).

Sense of place need not be positive, nor have positive effects. A person can feel the drudgery of repeated experiences in a place; a street gang may have a strong bond to a place, yet be the bane of an urban neighbourhood (Hay, 1988). Those with positive feelings for a place may (indirectly) oppress others in that place of a lower socio-economic class. People with a weak sense of place tend to move away in a filtering effect. Previous sense of place research has focussed on those who remain in a place, often forgetting to search out those who have left, to note their qualities and their reasons for moving. Glendining (1978) is a rare example of this type of research; her study was conducted in a New Zealand context, and is reviewed in Chapter 9 to compare her findings on out-migrants with my own research.

Localized ancestry has not been an issue in previous research either, since the focus has been upon modern people and their individual attitudes toward their place. This is an important dimension of many people's lives, as Weil describes it below:

To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul . . . A human being has roots by virtue of his real, active and natural participation in the life of the community . . . this participation is a natural one in the sense that it is automatically brought about by place, conditions of birth, profession and social surroundings. (1955, 53).

It seems obvious that those born and raised in a place should be compared with those who have moved in or were transient, but such distinctions have not been made. These research shortcomings are understandable in a North American setting, where people are very mobile, but such research fails to acknowledge that sense of place has broader implications, with one's context in a place often involving both one's own lifetime and one's ancestry there. This point is especially significant for indigenous people.

The review of people's movements through space and time and the development of a territorial feeling towards one's place (see Chapter 2) demonstrates that these dimensions are

central to an understanding of sense of place. Other topics, such as existential space, sacred space, community and home are less central, yet when their concepts are examined it is apparent that they are still important to a review of sense of place. Place identity, place attachment, and the dwelling experience are more strongly associated with sense of place. My conception of sense of place, however, goes beyond their definitions (see Section 3.4).

The relationship of closely allied concepts to sense of place is displayed in Figure 3-1, displaying the three realms that are directly related to sense of place: "the perceptual realm", "the experiential realm" and "the emotional realm". The emotional realm is central to sense of place, with the perceptual realm most peripheral. Place attachment, place identity, and home and dwelling experience have been included in the inner circle of the emotional realm due to their significance. These terms are discussed in detail in Section 3.4.

Previous sense of place research is reviewed in the first section of this chapter. Subsequent sections gather material, primarily on modern peoples, into the three realms described above. A figure is presented near the beginning of each of these sections to display the topics under consideration, and to aid in conceptual clarification. It is in the inter-relationship of these realms that sense of place is thought to develop (Hay, 1988). However, final clarification of this inter-relationship is delayed until the concluding chapter of the dissertation.

### 3.1 An Introduction to Sense of Place Research

I am aware of only two previous overviews of sense of place (Hay, 1988; Lewis, 1979). Sense of place as a phenomenon has not been sufficiently clarified, despite my earlier work (Hay, 1986, 1988). I previously attempted to define sense of place (1986, 6-7), including in that definition aspects such as long residence, sensory awareness, action space, rootedness, insider status and regional consciousness. Since then I have decided that sense of place eludes precise definition, in a similar manner to the phenomenological conception of "place" as a total phenomenon (see Chapter 2). It is also difficult to clarify the conception of sense of place through fieldwork, since modern people usually take their sense of place for granted (see Ley, 1977): respondents may not be able to provide a concise encapsulation of their "sense of place" in a direct manner during interviews.

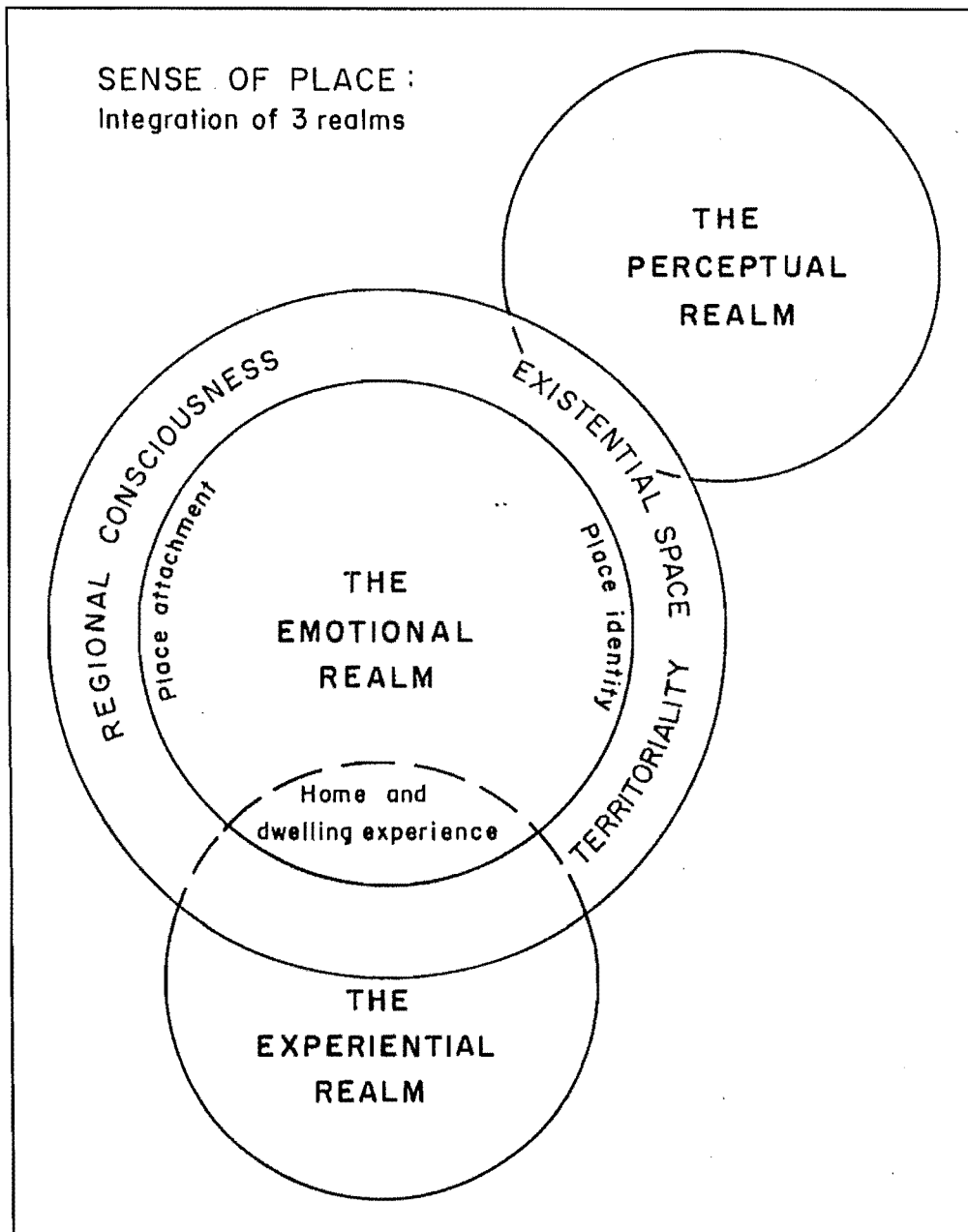


Figure 3-1: Sense of place: A conceptual framework.

Phenomenology may be used, however, to bracket the phenomenon "sense of place" (see Chapter 5); its multi-faceted character can be revealed through a series of in-depth questions with respondents. In many respects sense of place is similar to other complex emotional states, such as love: aspects of sense of place can be investigated and these can be developed into a theory, but sense of place itself still eludes easy definition. Research can be used, though, to clarify a number of its qualities.

Humanistic geographers, using personal reflection and a phenomenological perspective, have developed several initial theoretical constructs on sense of place, predominantly in regard to modern peoples (e.g. Buttimer, 1976; Porteous, 1976; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1974a, 1974b, 1975, 1977). A theory on sense of place, however, has not yet been forthcoming. Tuan (1974a) spoke of a need for a certain amount of perspective, through journeys, to "catch the sense" of one's own place. He later (1980b) contrasted sense of place with rootedness, although such a division is not tenable experientially. The qualities of "being" in a place were considered by Relph (1976); he termed residents who were totally at home in their place "existential insiders". To feel at home helps in the development of a sense of place, as does long residence; when residence is coupled with a degree of personal involvement in a place, through commitment and community involvement, the development of sense of place is enhanced (see Hay, 1986; Tuan, 1975b).

These theoretical positions have been investigated through fieldwork with respondents by several researchers, with most focussing on place attachment (e.g. Fitzgerald, 1988; Fried and Gleicher, 1961; Gerson et al, 1977; Hunter, 1974; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Rowles, 1978, 1983). There have been three notable studies on sense of place: Taylor and Townsend (1976) studied 336 adult residents' senses of place for northeastern, rural villages in England. Field studies by Eyles and myself were more comprehensive attempts, as both phenomenological and behavioural survey analysis methods were used with samples of respondents: Eyles (1985) for Towcester, England, and myself (1986) for the Cowichan Valley, British Columbia.

Taylor and Townsend (1976) used a behavioural framework to design a questionnaire, distributed by mail to a random sample as a survey. Through statistical analyses they determined that "a person's 'stage in the life cycle' may be the crucial independent variable",

because "a sense of place assumes a degree of awareness of the place and this will partly and perhaps wholly be built up through experience" (138-139). Persons over age 65 were found to have "the greatest affection for the area where they live" (139). They noted that respondents seldom made explicit reference to the characteristics of place; length of residence was also found to be the most important factor in building a strong local attachment (137). People with well-developed social and kinship networks were discovered to be the most likely to remain in their place. The researchers also outlined a "deprivation hypothesis", where "respondents from manual, working-class groups who bore the brunt of the Depression now show the strongest attributes of a local sense of place" (139). Place ties, therefore, do not always have to form out of positive experiences; shared hardships can build bonds as well.

Eyles (1985) reported his own life story in a phenomenological style, supplementing this methodology with self-reflection. His field study in Towcester used a behavioural framework to devise a questionnaire of closed and open questions, which was then personally administered to a random sample of 162 adult respondents (about five per cent of the total adult population of Towcester), selected to cover a mix of ages and sexes. In his results, Eyles reports general quality of life measures (e.g. good health, standard of living and family life; peaceful way of life; pleasant environment; friendliness) that were important to community members (114-117). He then divided respondents into various types of sense of place, labelling these social; family; nostalgic (memories concerning the current place of residence); commodity (searching for an ideal place); roots; way of life; platform/stage (in a respondent's life); and environmental (attached to the place itself). Those without a sense of place were grouped into either apathetic-acquiescent (no sense of place) or instrumental (place as a means to an end).

My own research (Hay, 1986) described respondents' senses of place using phenomenological methods, and investigated the development of their sense of place through behavioural methods, identifying several factors as being important in that development. A random sample of 65 adult residents were interviewed in their homes using a questionnaire that included both closed and open questions. Five additional elderly residents were interviewed at length, to add more qualitative material and to compensate for the lack of such respondents in

my random sample. Qualities of the Cowichan Valley were considered, including that of its major communities.

Analyses consisted of phenomenological reflection and statistical analyses. In the latter, thirty-two independent variables were compared to respondents' level of place attachment in correlation and regression analyses. Table 3-1 presents the 11 variables found to have a significant ( $p < .05$ ) correlation, with the most notable ones (conceptually) being length of residence; motivation to remain in the place; exploration of the place; awareness of the qualities of the place and bonds to it; attendance at community events; number of family members; number of friends; and number of special places (1986, 82). The highest Pearson's coefficient computed ( $r .31$ : see Table 3-1) did not, however, represent a strong correlation; higher coefficient values were only obtained when categories were collapsed for three variables.

Step-wise regression analyses were also employed to indicate the importance of some variables. In the best regression analysis, 46 per cent of the variance was accounted for (adjusted R square .35, dependent variable: attachment level). Respondents' number of friends, their motivation to remain in the place, and their exploration in the place were the variables selected in the first three steps. Awareness level, and when a respondent had become attached to his or her place, figured prominently in other regression analyses.

Phenomenological reflection focussed upon my respondents' qualitative assessments with respect to the qualities of their place, and upon their place attachment. Through this reflection qualitative data was integrated with findings from statistical analyses to give an indication of respondents' sense of place. Effects of physical place and social world on the development of their sense of place, however, had been considered to a lesser extent. I only realized through my present research that an assessment of these effects is essential in order to understand the development of sense of place, as sense of place is part of the totality of one's life (see Eyles, 1985).

In a reappraisal of my phenomenological methods, I found that they had been applied inadequately, since I had presupposed themes in respondents' remarks (see Hycner, 1985), and I had misinterpreted some major philosophical tenets of phenomenology, as had many other leading humanistic geographers in my field (see review by Pickles, 1985, in Chapter 5).

Table 3-1 Pearson's correlations: variables strongly correlated with attachment level to place.

Variable	r	p<	p<*
When attached	.39	.01	-
Rate other places	.31	.01	-
Awareness	.31	.01	-
Motivation	.31	.01	-
Length of residence	.29	.02	-
Moving	.28	.02	-
Events	.27	.04	-
Exploration	.26	.04	-
<hr/>			
Friends	.53	.17	.01
Family	.32	.99	.01
Special Places	.29	.19	.02

Variable	Condition for High Attachment Level
When attached	Attached to the Valley before moving there or shortly after arriving
Rate other places	Places of former residence rated lower for attachment level than present place
Awareness	Well aware of the characteristics of their local area
Motivation	Had a strong reason to remain in the Valley
Length of Residence	Had lived in the Valley longer
Moving	Were not intending to move out of the Valley
Events	Attended community events regularly
Exploration	Have a large, complex mental map within the Valley
Friends	Had five or greater of these
Family	Had five or greater of these
Special Places	Had five or greater of these

Note: 1. Variables listed below dashed line had their categories collapsed (new significance level indicated by p < \*).

2. p < .05; N = 65; all correlations in a positive direction. Source: Hay (1986, 82)

Also, my behavioural methods had tended to be more concerned with individual responses, abstracting respondents from their social context more than was warranted.

However, the use of behavioural and survey methods by myself and other researchers has shown how people's attitudes, preferences, daily rhythms, mental maps, action space and demographic profiles affected their sense of place (e.g. Hay, 1986; Taylor & Townsend, 1976). Studies of urban people have also demonstrated that ties to people may be more important than ties to place in a city environment (e.g. Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; see also later discussion on place attachment). Phenomenological methods can also add depth to this behavioural understanding, through more in-depth, qualitative analyses. These methods may be applied to individuals, but research design should also include qualitative assessments on the contexts of respondents, to give a more complete picture of how their sense of place has developed. To investigate indigenous peoples, however, the use of ethnographic methods is probably more appropriate.

Some applications of theoretical constructs concerning sense of place have already been made, as in historical preservation to maintain a sense of place (Datel and Dingemans, 1984); education which concentrates on qualities of the local region (Lanegran, 1986; Lutts, 1985); the design of places to elicit a sense of place (Dovey, 1984; Norberg-Schulz, 1980, 1985; Violich, 1983); and the design of more authentic settings for tourists (see MacCannell, 1976, 96-98). I maintain, however, that sense of place theory is still piecemeal and inadequate. An empirical study incorporating indigenous peoples' views would aid in the comprehension of sense of place cross-culturally. An initial theory, based on an integration of this research and theoretical constructs from previous research, could then be developed, allowing further applications of that theory from a better theoretical base.

Sense of place appears to operate within the three interweaving dimensions illustrated in Figure 3-1: the perceptual realm of awareness, orientation and memories; the experiential realm of bodily and sensory contacts, insider/outsider division and journeys; and the emotional realm of feelings, preferences and values (Hay, 1988; see also Porteous, 1985b, 1986a; Porteous and Mastin, 1985; Relph, 1985; Seamon, 1987a). The following three sections will examine these realms to show their relationship with sense of place. Following the presentation of results from my research project (Chapters 8 through to 10), the suitability of



conceptualizing sense of place in this manner for both modern and indigenous peoples will be discussed further.

### 3.2 The Perceptual Realm

Perception was first studied by psychologists, who focussed upon the "senses and the stimuli acting upon the senses" (Wood, 1970, 129). Geographers enlarged the realm of studies to include the non-human environment (see Buttimer, 1987). The field of environmental perception research includes one's orientation in space, sensations, memories, regional consciousness, geomentality, cultural conditioning and the distinctiveness of the place itself (Fig. 3-2). Although a person perceives in an integrated fashion, topics will be dealt with individually for clarity. The cultural component, contrasting modern and indigenous peoples, was dealt with in detail in Chapter 1.

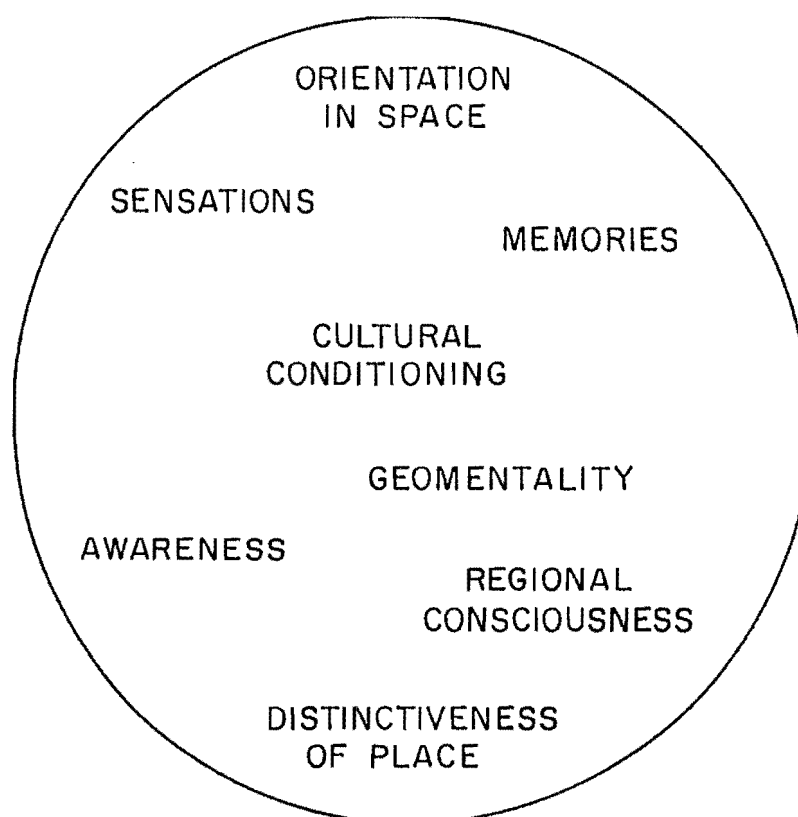


Figure 3-2: The perceptual realm: Major concepts.

Perception researchers typically concentrate on vision and short-term memory, seldom noting people's sensory experiences. Porteous, working from a humanistic perspective, has recently written about the sensed environment, in articles entitled "Smellscape" (1985b); "Soundscape" (with Mastin, 1985); "Bodyscape: The Body-Landscape Metaphor" (1986a); and, "Deathscape: Malcolm Lowry's Topophobic View of the City" (1987). Each of these articles (especially 'Smellscape') shows the many ways in which the world is noticed and felt by people, and how it becomes part of a person's soul after long habitation in one place. Snyder, an American poet, points out the qualities of a place that can be recognized if a person disregards locational attributes:

Ask yourself, how would you tell people where you live so that they could find your house without mentioning a street name, a road name, a town, a county, or a state. When you've figured out how to describe where you live, you've made the first step in bioregional awareness. You see the place you live, city or country, with fresh eyes for a moment . . . (in Dardick, 1985, 73).

Steele (1981, 129-132) tells us that (long-term) memories consolidate our relationship with particular places. In reverie (including our dreams) we sift through our many experiences and hold on to those which are important (see Bachelard, 1958). Recollections can also be triggered by mementos, reunions and going "back home".

People perceive a place as a whole unit, as that is how we receive environmental information. In a gestalt form we reduce a "complicated pattern to a more recognizable and simpler pattern", and relate to "meaningful wholes", not discrete elements (Bellantonio, 1985, 32). Our bodies too are said to receive information in a "whole" manner (Gibson in Bellantonio, 1985, 33-34). Merleau-Ponty, a phenomenologist, believes that "by considering the body in movement, we can see better how it inhabits space . . . " (in Seamon, 1982, 127). This type of movement was called a "place ballet" by Seamon (1982).

Lynch says that "to gain an existential foothold, man has to be able to orientate himself: he has to know where he is. But he also has to identify himself with the environment, that is he has to know how he is in a certain place" (1960: in Sime, 1985, 278). Tuan (1974a, 229-230) reminds us that the cardinal orientations of front and back; left and right; up and down; and north, south, east and west are common throughout humanity. He also emphasizes the importance of inside and outside; our upright posture; the body's symmetry; and how human physiological make-up limits the range of sensory faculties (1974a, 1974b).

Much of the daily sensing of place must be subconscious among modern people, since, as one's place becomes very familiar, the unique qualities that make it distinctive (to an outsider) are noticed less. People rapidly orient themselves in space, and acquire local knowledge of their place, forming a mental map of their surroundings for navigation (see Gould and White, 1971; Lynch, 1960; Tuan, 1975a). The concepts of "node, landmark, path, edge, and district" were developed by Lynch (1960) to note how people orient themselves in urban environments. Journeys can be influenced by people's perceptions: if the place and/or people at the distant place are liked, and if the route to that place is well known and easily travelled, then the distance may be perceived as shorter: called "lived distance" by Bollnow (1967).

To facilitate their orientation (and to claim space), people assign place names to notable features in their environment. This practice helps in the definition of territory, and in building feelings of security, for a named place is a known place. Architectural design and its symbols are instrumental in turning mere space into a human place. Symbols provide identifiable features for both orienteering and the cultivation of familiarity and belonging (see Lyndon et al, 1962, 39-40). Tuan (1977, Chapter 12) has described the effect of "visibility" of both landscape and townscape features, together with "imageability" (1974b), on the creation of place feelings among residents. Lynch (1978) has written on "legibility", the ease of recognition of landscape and townscape features.

Relph (1976) has asserted that the distinctiveness of places is diminishing through the increased use of uniform, bland designs in urbanized North America. He terms the result "placelessness . . . an environment without significant places", linking the proliferation of such sterile places with a reduction of "the importance of place for both individuals and cultures" (143). However, these views have been seen as overly subjective by some reviewers (e.g. Sixsmith, 1983, and Thompson, 1984: see their comments in Sime, 1985). The problem of encroaching "placelessness" is being addressed of late by citizens and academics who wish to restore "a sense of place" to urban neighbourhoods (see Canter, 1977; Cox, 1968; Dovey, 1984).

Despite changes toward placelessness, place conditioning remains a common phenomenon, limiting people's perception to a large degree. Johnston (1988a, 9) refers to

"places creating people creating places", and discusses the effects of negative stereotypes which are place-based. The extent of such stereotyping is apparent when one tries to "relate" (often unsuccessfully) to a stranger from another place, career or cultural background. Political symbolism is often place-based, either at the national level (used to unify national ideology), or at the local level (to segregate people in urban residential housing through exclusionary zoning policies: Johnston, 1988a). Segregation is responsible for much of "place conditioning": a person's place context often conditions his or her world view and way of life so much that it is difficult to transcend the stereotype. Those who attempt to live outside their "class" (and the places associated with that class) often fail.

Johnston's statement, that "people seek to live among 'us' and apart from 'them'" (1988a, 10), therefore appears to be a common feature of human habitation. When put in a cultural context, this is similar to what Yoon (1986, 45) referred to as "geomentality . . . an established and lasting state of mind which is necessarily translated into a particular behavioural pattern in dealing with the environment". And so, one's perception can become socially-conditioned to the degree that a typical pattern may be recognized. This is apparent both between societies (and nations), and between modern and indigenous (tribal) peoples.

The next section details the many ways in which people experience their place by building upon their initial perceptions. Their actions in space characterize this realm, with repeated exposure to particular places usually forming feelings of territoriality, insideness and a sense of place.

### 3.3 The Experiential Realm

After long experience in a place a person normally develops a sense of place. This is partly the result of growing maturity, and is tied to the sensory perception of place, regular experiences in a place, and "place learning", as in acquiring local knowledge. When insider status is achieved, a person feels like a "native" in the place, becoming territorial towards outsiders.

Figure 3-3 displays the main contacts a person has within a place in the inner circle of the diagram, with changes and activities that affect that person in the place shown in the outer circle. Effects beyond the regional scale, such as societal changes and the perspective that is gained through trips away, have been placed on the outer rim of the circle in the figure.

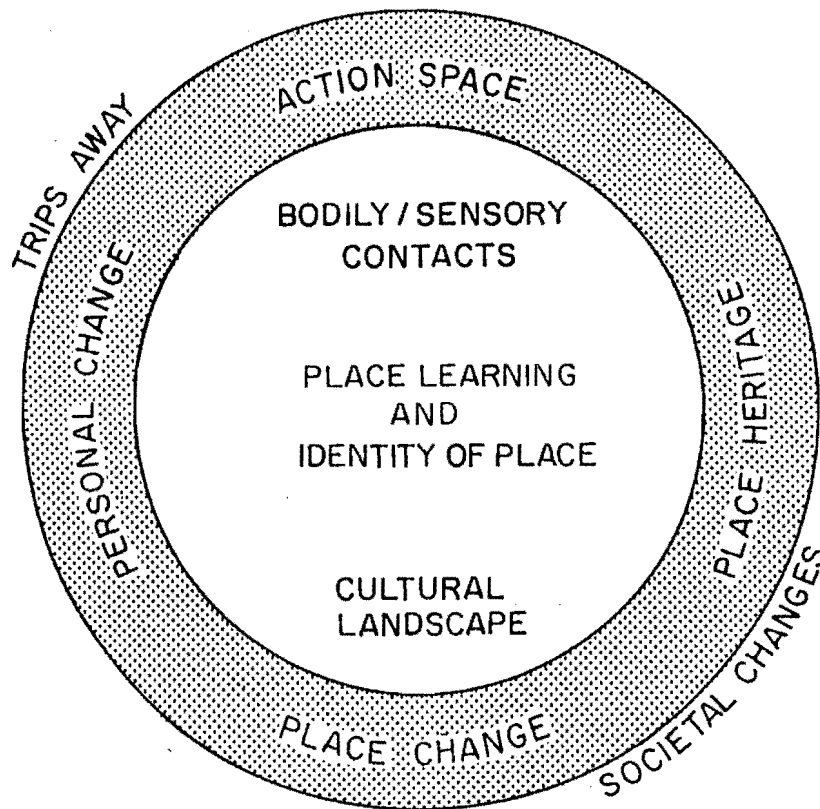


Figure 3-3: The experiential realm: Major concepts.

In action space - the regular travels a person makes within a region - both group membership and time are involved. Horton and Reynolds (1969, 70) say that action space is "affected by group memberships, a person's position in social networks, his position on one of his divergent life cycles, and his spatial location with respect to potential trip destinations in the environment". Chapin and Brail note the importance of a person's "time budget . . . the individual's daily or weekly routine, broken down into a series of behavior categories such as sleep, learning, eating, travel, work-related activities, recreation and so on" (in Porteous, 1977, 93).

Local knowledge gradually builds through experience in a place over time. People also show their "place heritage" in their local knowledge, as such knowledge may be derived from several places where they have lived. Tuan (1977, 30) tells us that: "A child's idea of place becomes more specific and geographical as he grows". Spatial knowledge is often not

uniform: there can be a focus on a local area, then city, nation and foreign places, "skipping the neighborhood and the region" (Tuan, 31). Shepard (1977, 32) sums up the importance of place experience in our lives: "knowing who you are is impossible without knowing where you are. But it cannot be learned in a single stroke."

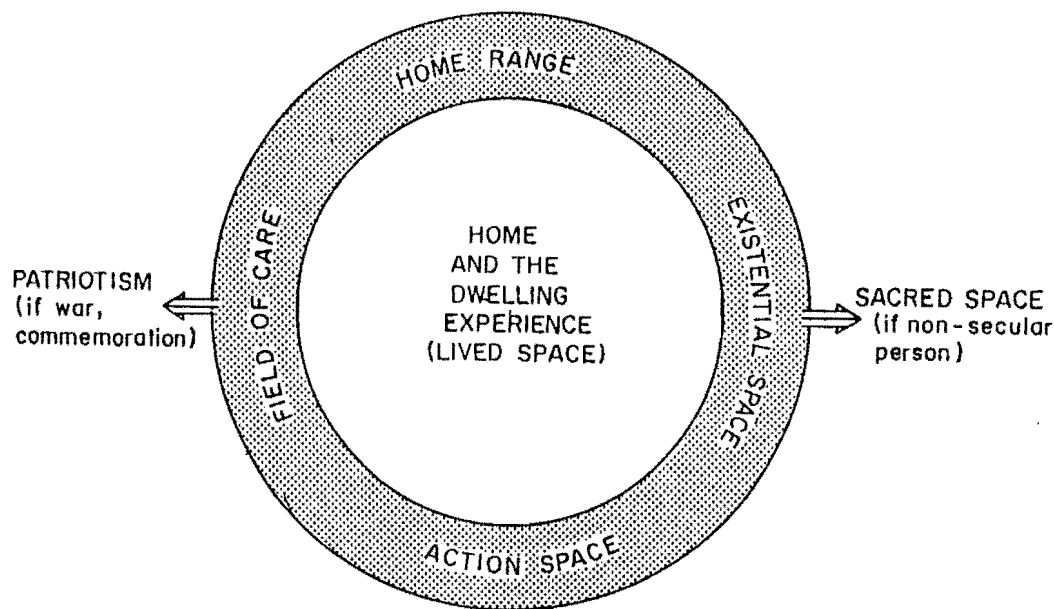


Figure 3-4: The modern view of space-time: A static depiction.

The concept of existential space, an area of shared meaning, is derived from the philosophy of existentialism, where "to exist is to have a place" (Entrikin, 1976, 625). A "field of care", such as a home or marketplace, is a closely related concept, bringing in the importance of prolonged experience (Tuan, 1974a). Existing within such places is most unselfconscious among modern people during childhood. At that stage of life there is a gestalt conception of space; modern people only develop an abstract, geometric perception of space later in life to suit certain purposes (Piaget in Norberg-Schulz, 1977). Cognitive map studies show that children's play and other activities are usually in, or near, the home during the first

ten years of life (Porteous, 1976, 386), except for journeys to school (see Matthews, 1987). An affinity with a certain type of place is largely developed through the circumstance of where a person is raised (Norberg-Schulz, 1977, 8):

The child grows up in green, brown or white spaces; it walks or plays on sand, earth, stone or moss, under a cloudy or serene sky; it grasps and lifts hard and soft things; it hears noises, such as the sound of the wind moving the leaves of a particular kind of tree; and it experiences heat and cold. Thus the child gets acquainted with the environment, and develops perceptual schemata which determine all future experiences.

Adults have been shown to still operate primarily within a "home ground" frame of reference (see Stanton, 1986, on urban areas).

How modern people experience their place is thus related to how they define their space. Figure 3-4 is included to show how the dwelling experience in lived space (inner circle) is consolidated through physical/experiential and intellectual/emotional/spiritual movements through space (outer circle) over a period of time. In the modern definition of space there are also potential offshoots beyond a person's own region, such as sacred space (spiritual) and patriotism (emotional). When a person moves home, he or she takes these spatial conceptions on to the new region.

Phenomenologists relate people's experience to their lived world more closely than do behaviouralists. Norberg-Schulz (1977) and Alexander et al (1977) have recently provided phenomenological views of space. Norberg-Schulz describes "concrete space" as the space of people, defined by their own qualitative distinctions, such as "up/down" and "inside/outside". Varying degrees of "extension and enclosure" are important in the definition of space, since landscapes have a "continuous extension" and settlements are "enclosed entities"; such enclosures are centres, and each may function as a focus for its surroundings (Norberg-Schulz, 1977).

Alexander et al (1977) discusses the creation of place from space in architecture, linking place experience and built form, where a path is "primarily a line of movement between or within places"; a boundary is "the perceived extent of the meaning, an edge between places"; and a place is "a centre of collective or individual meaning" (e.g. a city, home or landmark: in Dovey, 1985a, 94-95). He notes that public places "are generally at or near the node point of a variety of paths", and that intimate places "generally occupy the end of a path" (95).

Certain concepts introduced in Chapter 2 are clarified when place is considered in this phenomenological manner. Dovey (1985b, 34) notes that "Home is best conceived of as a kind of relationship between people and their environment"; it is an "experienced phenomenon" and "not an empirical variable whose meaning we might define". She further notes that: "To be at home is to know where you are; it means to inhabit a secure center and to be oriented in space" (36). It is "an experience of complete insideness that can only develop over time" (37). In another article she asserts that a person's feeling for home "constitutes the extreme of existential insideness" (1985a, 96; see also Relph, 1976, 142). Buttimer introduces the concept of "home and horizons of reach" (1980) to note that travels from home help to define a person's feelings for home; this "lived reciprocity" enables a person to develop "centeredness" in one place.

Territoriality is put into perspective by Ley (1977, 508), who says that with reference to modern people, "near space is well known, predictable and protective, anchored, though not limited to the home . . . the home is the core of the taken-for-granted world". The reason for the importance of territoriality at home is the amount of time spent in the action space in and around the home. Buttimer (1976, 281 and 284) defines "lived space" as the space where a person moves outward (in concentric layers) from the "zero point" of home. Dovey (1985b, 35) refers to lived space as "a concrete and meaning-centered bodily experience": it is called "being-in-the-world" by phenomenologists.

Alexander et al (1977) also notes that there are hierarchical levels in people's use of space (e.g. in a highrise office tower), with meanings that change at each level. These levels are often exclusive, setting some members of society apart from others. The space of "dominant" (higher status) members is characterized by increased comfort and privacy at home, and greater personalizing of one's space at work. Each type of space that is created tends to have characteristic behaviour associated with it, with people expected to conform to behavioural norms.

When space becomes a social product, class distinctions may arise. As Claval emphasizes, "as soon as attention is given to social relations", social space can be seen to be made up of "places linked by networks and structured by communication . . . it is through the communication process that group consciousness grows" (1984, 108). Marxists see space as a



result of "previous investment, economic activity and the varied application of transportation and communication technology . . . it is built through human agency" (106).

My own fieldwork in the Cowichan Valley (Hay, 1986) found that residents defined their "place" largely by the Valley's topography and their own action space. During interviews they described to me their experienced place. They did not live within some spatial, two-dimensional grid, but within a "homeland" of friends, family, work, recreation and memories. They most often travelled between the locations of their extended family, friends, community involvement, and work (see also Taylor and Townsend, 1976). Their movements were sometimes constrained by functional barriers, such as topography, a lack of transport, restricted access (e.g. no roads, private property), and, for some, a lack of knowledge or finances.

The cohesiveness of long-term place experience is well described in a quotation by Duncan, who provides a definition of a "native":

A native is a man or creature or plant indigenous to a limited geographical area - a space boundaried and defined by mountains, rivers or coastline (not by latitudes, longitudes or state and county lines), with its own peculiar mixture of weeds, trees, bugs, birds, flowers, streams, hills, rocks and critters (including people), its own nuances of rain, wind and seasonal change. Native intelligence develops through an unspoken or soft-spoken relationship with these interwoven things: it evolves as the native involves himself in his region. A non-native awakes in the morning in a body in a bed in a room in a building on a street in a county in a state in a nation. A native awakes in the center of a little cosmos - or a big one, if his intelligence is vast - and he wears this cosmos like a robe, senses the barely perceptible shiftings, migrations, moods and machinations of its creatures, its growing green things, its earth and sky. (1983, 53-54).

Such experience is consolidated through reflection: "reverie" helps to integrate one's memories and solidify a native's feeling of "dwelling" (Bachelard in Korosec-Serfaty, 1984, 306 and 319; see also sub-section 3.4.3).

Relph believes that the highest level of insideness in a place is "existential insideness", where "a place is experienced without deliberate and self-conscious reflection, yet is full of significance" (1976, 55). Relph's treatment of place calls to mind the concepts of rootedness and belonging (Walker, 1985, 327). The environment thus becomes part of a native's psyche, as well as his or her physiology, after long residence in one place. People and place are intertwined; the extent of that relationship becomes apparent in the next section.

### 3.4 The Emotional Realm

Steele (1981, 7) states: "One of the most consistently important contributions of place has been to provide a sense of security to individuals and groups: a feeling that they are at home or have a home that they can go back to . . .". Inhabiting a place may often engender familiarity, which translates into belonging and security (if the place is benign), and ultimately into loyalty and territoriality. In reaching this state of familiarity, certain subconscious processes occur during one's place experience, changing an unknown "space" (which may feel threatening, and contain hostile people and animals) into a known "place".

The emotional relationship with place is at the core of a person's sense of place. The need for protection in a familiar place (and thus, feelings of security) is similar among humans and other animals (see Bowlby, 1969). Sime (1985, 284) attributes "ties to particular people and places" to "a vestige of the survival function". Relph (1976, 38) points out that: "To be attached to places and have profound ties with them is an important human need".

Marsh (1988) links sense of place to territoriality, pointing out people's need to live within a bounded, identifiable area (see Chapter 2). Proshansky et al (1983, 60) state that "a person acquires a sense of belonging and purpose which gives meaning to his or her life", through "personal attachment to geographically locatable places". Tuan (1974b) terms the affective ties to place "topophilia". Among modern people, place attachment is "probably strongest in relation to a person's own home" (Sime, 1985, 284). If the dwelling experience is strong there, ensuring a feeling of "being-at-home", then the bond to that place is enhanced.

"Home" feeling, community spirit, regional consciousness and territoriality were reviewed in Chapter 2. Other dimensions of the emotional relationship with place include place identity, place attachment and the dwelling experience. In some ways these three concepts could be thought of as describing a person's sense of place. The way in which they have been defined by researchers, however, makes their description too narrow. And so, they have been subsumed under my (broader) conception of sense of place. The rationale for this discussion will become clearer in the following discussion; further explanation is provided in Chapters 8 and 12.

Figure 3-5 is included to show how the emotional realm of sense of place may be conceptualized. The central importance of place attachment is depicted by its presence alone in

the inner circle; other less significant concepts are illustrated in the middle ring of the diagram. People who leave their place, becoming displaced, and those who do not feel part of a place, the outsiders, are shown in the outer ring as becoming less attached, while return migrants are becoming more attached. The creation of place positively affects place attachment as well.

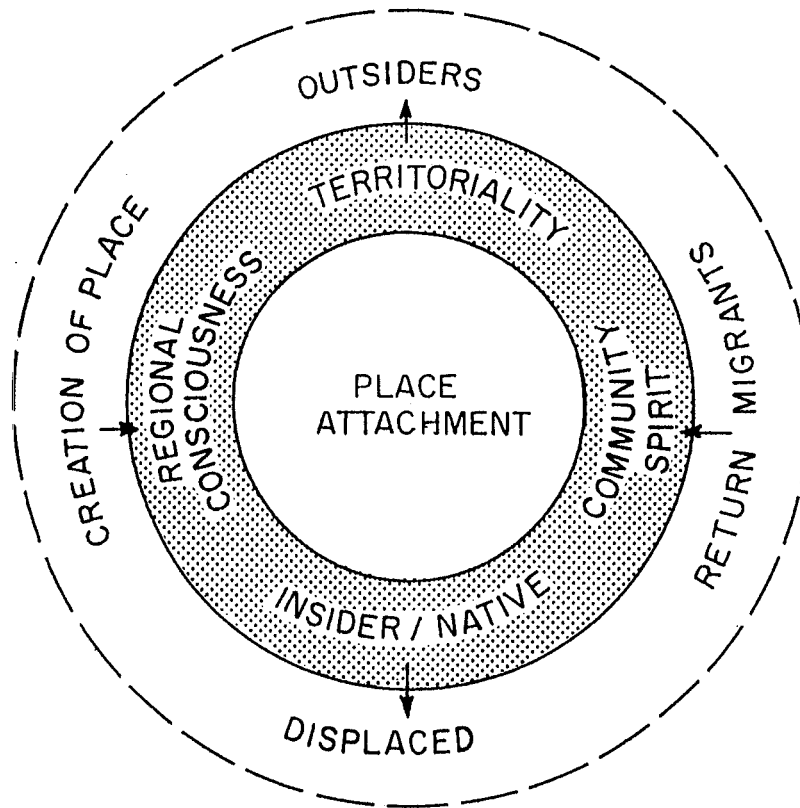


Figure 3-5: The emotional realm: Major concepts.

This section includes separate reviews of place identity, place attachment and the dwelling experience, each treated separately to understand their content better. When relevant, concepts from Chapter 2 are integrated with these sub-sections.

### 3.4.1 Place Identity

Place identity studies show the significance of a place to the formation of a person's self-identity. Emotional states that are context-bound, however, such as a feeling of belonging in a place, are not considered. People are known to identify themselves by their association with places, either when proud of their home region (e.g. cheering for the home team), or

when away, as in "I'm from Australia", or "I'm a Kiwi". The distinction between insiders and outsiders is thus place-based within social groups of small or large size. The development of self-identity, as linked to a place, parallels the development of a sense of place.

Dovey (1985b, 48) notes that in everyday life people "appropriate aspects of the world as anchors for self-identity". Qualities of human nature, such as a need to "belong" in a place (Sime, 1985, 283), and to "create" a place (Tuan, 1980b, 6), motivate people both to develop and to express their self-identity. Among modern people, the character of their home place is the most crucial in that development (see Porteous, 1976). Researchers in psychology have provided a somewhat limited definition of place identity, oriented to specific place settings and based on individual people.

Proshansky et al (1983) tell us that a person's sense of identity is developed during the first 20 years of life, with (a modern) place identity centered on the home during those years. Small mementos, favourite toys, memories of childhood games, and having one's own room all play a role in defining and developing that identity. Place-identity is said by them to be part of the:

sub-structure of the self-identity of the person . . . cognitions about the physical world" (memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behavior and experience), together with the "environmental past" (memories of places and associated behaviour) of the person involved, forms place identity. (Proshansky et al, 1983, 59).

Proshansky et al (1983) further state that there are "social definitions" in place settings that are "inextricably tied to the social and cultural existence of a group" and its "role functions" (63-64). These are learned, and "define the social life of the person" (e.g. the household, the school, the neighbourhood and the 'play area': 64). Certain "special" places assume greater significance in this regard, due to repeated experiences, key people and valued memories.

In a psychological framework, place settings tend to be more limited and localized. This is a restrictive view of "place", however, especially to a geographer. The social and cultural context of a person is also not sufficiently considered in psychological research. When Proshansky et al (1983, 63) add that the place itself is usually taken for granted, with physical settings only providing the "backdrops" of social events, an assumption is made about places that may not be warranted, especially for rural or indigenous people.

In a phenomenological perspective place identity assumes a different quality. Phenomenologists do not split person and world: place is said to incorporate self, since people are immersed in their world (Seamon, 1987a, 21). This is especially true for indigenous people. Hence any division is an illusion. Seamon points out that there is a "full range of experience related to place (e.g. bodily, emotional, and cerebral modes of awareness, as well as such experiential qualities of place as insideness/outsideness, dwelling/journey, etc.)"; these distinctions are blurred in behavioural discussions which "mix cognitive and emotional modes carelessly" (as in mixing feelings, preferences and values: 1987a, 21).

If places themselves are distinctive, there is also an effect on the development of a person's place identity. Relph (1976, 61) says that the "identity" of a place "is comprised of three interrelated components, each irreducible to the other: physical features or appearance, observable activities and functions, and meanings or symbols". My own discussion of distinctiveness (of the Cowichan Valley in British Columbia) focussed on physical and social symbolism (Hay, 1986, 135-138). Barnes and Curry (1982) described the "personality" of places, while I detailed the symbolic importance of certain "distinctive" physical and social features. In the Cowichan Valley this symbolism is influenced by culture, since assigning desirability and distinctiveness to places are both culturally-derived perceptions. Symbolism thus contributes to the development of a place identity as people want to remain in "beautiful" places, and can identify with more "distinctive" places. Sense of place is more easily developed in such distinctive, desirable places, because symbolism influences the development of a strong place identity, which in turn enhances a sense of place feeling.

In a geographical sense, after long habitation a binding relationship between a person and a place normally develops, creating a place-specific identity. That place identity, as part of the regional realm, is evident in the regional consciousness of inhabitants. This perspective demonstrates how people live within a social and environmental context; thus their individual place identity cannot be abstracted for study by behaviouralists without losing the integrity of their experience. This context is also significant in the development of a person's sense of place. Korosec-Serfaty suggests that a "topoanalysis . . . the psychological study of the sites of our intimate lives", in reference to Bachelard, might yield greater insight than

psychoanalysis (1984, 306). Indeed, for a person to alter his or her identity substantially, it is often easiest merely to move to a new place.

Place identity for modern people is perhaps strongest in the home environment. Korosec-Serfaty (1985, 74), in referring to people's homes, says that: "Hidden things and places help to situate the boundaries of the self and help to gain confidence in one's own capacity to control one's 'inner self' . . . The social meaning of secrecy is strength". The decor and design of people's houses conveys "information about themselves and their relationship with others", enabling them "to articulate their personal and group identity and to reflect their self-esteem" (Lawrence, 1987, 161; see Cooper, 1974). Journeys from home also help to maintain self-identity by providing perspective and reminding people of their "centeredness" in one place. However, feelings for a "part-time" home are seldom as significant: "The degree of identification with an area regarded as "home away from home" is rarely as intense as that of the home base" (Porteous, 1976, 385).

Buttimer says (1980, 14): "Loss of home or losing one's place may often trigger an 'identity crisis'". This is most evident among young children and the elderly. The home environment gives shelter and a feeling of stability. Battered and abused children often value remaining within the security of their home more highly than being taken to a "safe" location by the authorities. If the elderly who have lived a lifetime in one place are suddenly removed from their home environment (Porteous, 1976, 389), or if their place has undergone rapid place change, it can be devastating, as Howell (1983) explains:

If my society or proximate environment, including their built aspects, changes rapidly and I am not a participant in the change decisions, I must surely lose or have great difficulty in placing myself in space, time, and society. I will likely survive such disruptions, but the required adjustments may have major intra-psychic costs - I fear the disintegration of myself. Place is necessary to identity. (105).

When old people are deprived of their home surroundings, there can be depression and withdrawal (Fried, 1963; Tobin and Lieberman, 1976). Rapid social and/or place change can have similar effects. A statement concerning two people in their mid-70s who have lived their entire lives near Duncan, in the Cowichan Valley, shows the effect of place change on their identity:

But we feel lost. We feel lost in the area. My husband always says, well, when we were first married and we went to Duncan we knew everybody. Just everybody on the street. And we go through Duncan now and we haven't seen a soul we know. It's just a total new face of things. The town has been rebuilt . . . [when we used to] go to

town, oh - forty years ago - if you saw someone you didn't know, it was something to talk about. And today, if you see someone you know, it is something to talk about. (in Hay, 1986, 102).

In this light, place attachment assumes greater importance than is normally accorded to it in our future-oriented, modern society.

The defence of one's home (or homeland), as in the "sanctity of the threshold" (enshrined in law; see also Lang, 1985), shows the need for a place of one's own, and people's response in the defence of identity. One's home territory is thus converted into "defensible space" to fend off crime, environmental pollution or invading outsiders (see Proshansky et al, 1983, 65-66; Saarinen, 1976).

People may not always be able to defend their home environment, however. A common feature of both modern and indigenous society is the loss of beloved places, usually due to economic progress, but also as a result of environmental disaster or war. Physical settings may also gradually change over time in incremental stages, or new technology may change the character of places (e.g. the increasing importance of the 'television room' and the automobile, the redevelopment of city centres, and the creation of suburbia over the past few decades). The demography of a region (e.g. due to immigration and urban drift), causing new patterns of social roles, can change as well. Such considerations of a wider scope have seldom been mentioned as significant in behavioural treatments of place identity.

Modernization has created a new range of "artificial" places: the design of houses, offices, automobiles and shopping malls is done to suit particular user tastes. In turn, the privacy of homes, cars and offices removes people from both nature and the urban fray; the impersonal quality of shopping malls, geared to consumerism, has replaced the communal nature of the town centre. The changing character of "place" in modern society is thus having a reciprocal effect on place identity (see Pred, 1983, 50), with the place identity of modern people diverging markedly in character from that of indigenous people (see Chapter 8).

Among modern people, however, the change in their lived environments has not been noticed as significantly affecting the character of their place identity, and this change may not be realized until it is too late, when sterile "placeless" spaces have helped to create a similar type of human being (Hay, 1989). It seems that it takes either displacement or rapid place change to make a modern person notice the significance of his or her own context (Hay, 1988).

It may take a concerted educational effort, though, for this realization to sink into the minds of the public at large in modern society.

Beyond the realm of place identity, place attachment is also of importance in this context. The extent of people's bond to place will be reviewed in the next sub-section.

### 3.4.2 Place Attachment

Place attachment studies done by behaviouralists tend to be more concerned with individual feelings for place than people's social or place context. Three important areas of research to sense of place have typically not been included: the context of respondents (in a social group, a culture and a physical environment); the ancestry and residential status of respondents (i.e. if they were born in the place or not); and respondents' sensory experience of place. However, humanists are often more aware of these other areas of research, including them in their studies.

A study by Rowles (1978), a humanistic geographer, illustrates this point. He found that, for the "old-old" (people over 75), the mobile lifestyle of North Americans has caused reminiscing about bygone places to increase in importance: the "vicarious involvement in displaced settings is substituting for physical presence in a single environment" (1983, 309). Howell (1983, 99) adds that "places are affectively (*sic*) redefined in the course of utilizing them in reminiscence". Using phenomenology in my own study in the Cowichan Valley (Hay, 1986), I placed people's responses on their attachment for place in both a geographical and historical context, and noted the importance of social groups in the formation of their attachment. Part of that study, on the development of sense of place, was done in a behavioural framework.

Theoretical and empirical studies by behaviouralists on modern people's feelings of place attachment are more common. Studies of residential satisfaction can also be aligned to those of place attachment. Several studies on these two topics will be reviewed to attempt to identify factors which affect individual feelings of place attachment. Place attachment has been studied in dispersed rural settlements (Hay, 1986), towns (Taylor and Townsend, 1976), large city neighbourhoods (Hunter, 1978; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974) and urban slums (Fried and Gleicher, 1961). Residential satisfaction studies have usually concentrated on urban settlements. A multitude of factors that develop people's attachment to place and to other



people residing in the same place, have been isolated (Table 3-2), but the extent to which these factors inter-relate is still poorly understood. Behavioural results from Taylor and Townsend (1976) and myself (1986) concerning sense of place have been included in Table 3-2 because place attachment is also being researched in those studies.

In the structural alternative theory of place ties (Gerson et al, 1977), attachment is defined as "individuals' commitment to their neighborhood and neighbors" (139). The "alternative" part of this theory involves people's comparison of "their present neighborhood with a small, finite set of alternative locations that are available to them" (in Shumaker and Taylor, 1983, 223). Gerson et al observed that one type of local attachment does not necessarily imply another (1977, 144). They further note that feelings about a place are "not necessarily contingent upon behavioral involvement" (144).

In the place dependence model (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981), a person's "perceived strength of association" with a specific place is said to involve judgements concerning "the quality of current place and the relative quality of comparable alternative places" (in Shumaker and Taylor, 1983, 224-225). These judgements apparently involve rational decision-making (Shumaker and Taylor, 225), assuming a "cost-benefit analysis". Shumaker and Taylor (1983) also comment that "there is nothing in the [place dependent] model suggesting that people need to be attached to places", since "breaking people-place bonds is not necessarily traumatic" (224).

Shumaker and Taylor believe that the structural alternative theory "is only relevant to residential settings", and that neither this theory nor the place dependence model emphasize "the important role served by the physical environment throughout an individual's lifespan" (1983, 226). They report two potential "dimensions of attachment" (228), rootedness and bondedness, based on research by Riger and Lavrakas (1981), and conclude that place attachment is "a positive affective bond or association between individuals and their residential environment" (233).

Besides these theoretical views on place attachment, field studies by behaviouralists have also contributed insights. Sociologists and geographers have focussed upon the "benefits" to the individual of having strong ties to a place (for emotional, social and economic needs: see Hunter, 1978, 146), and upon "residential satisfaction" (e.g. Ermuth, 1974; Eyles,

Table 3-2 Factors known to affect the development of a modern sense of place

FACTOR	Hay (1986)	Taylor & Townsend (1986)	Kasarda & Janowitz (1974)	Riger & Lavrakis (1981)	Gerson et al (1975)	Speare et al (1977)	Fischer & Stueve (1977)	Golant (1982)
Length of Residence	X	X	X	X				
Motivated to Remain	X	X		X	X			
Kinship Network	X		X		X	X		
Number of Friends	X		X		X			
Stage in Life Cycle		X	X					
Community Involvement	X		X	X	X			
Institutional Ties					X			
Exploratory	X							
Awareness of Qualities/ Place Bonds	X							
Ownership of Home				X				
Travel Away Less/Past Places Not Highly Rated	X					X	X	X
Have Special Places in in Region/ Like Amenities	X					X		
No History of Mobility		X	X					
Number of Children in Family				X				

1985; Fried and Gleicher, 1961; Fried, 1982, 1984; Golant, 1982). These latter studies were oriented toward people's preferences and their desire for a good "quality of life". Residential satisfaction, as part of community satisfaction, was found to make "a significant contribution to explaining life satisfaction at all social class levels" by Fried (1984, 78).

Shumaker and Taylor (1983, 229-233) reviewed the "satisfaction with place" literature, but concluded that these studies, predominantly on "quality of life", "aesthetic" or "residential/neighbourhood" characteristics, are without "a coherent theory", and that "satisfaction is most often viewed as an outcome in and of itself". They say that the "functions" that satisfaction serves are not explained, nor how satisfaction "may relate to other variables such as commitment to neighborhood, cohesiveness, intention to relocate, or general health and well-being" (233). The participation of key people in a community, a person's degree of identification with the local area, the patronage of local facilities and residential stability may be more important factors to study than satisfaction (see Keller, 1972; Sykes, 1951).

Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) focussed on social and family ties, with the homogeneity of their samples, the boundedness of people's home area, length of residence, and population size and density examined in the United States. By selecting people for their survey from a sample of rural communities, urban ones of less than 60,000 population, and urban ones greater than 60,000 population, they determined that "location in communities of increased size and density does not weaken bonds of kinship and friendship" (338). Hunter (1974, 1978) had similar results concerning community ties. Kasarda and Janowitz found that "length of residence was the key factor influencing local community attachment" (325), with the "number of friends . . . [the] overall most important type of social bond influencing community sentiments". The "number of relatives living nearby" also had "a strong effect on a person's sense of community" (335-336; see also Speare et al, 1975, for similar findings). The research by Kasarda and Janowitz dispels the claim that people in large urban centres have fewer or less-developed people ties, but provides little information on people's place ties.

Sociological and behavioural studies use an individualistic model of motivation for remaining in one place, however, and give scant attention to group commitment and a communal feeling of dwelling. Moreover, place attachment research seldom considers the

home environment, the centre from which modern people build a sense of place, or the wider social and environmental context. In a general treatment, Steele (1981, 44-50) has referred to "place people" as those who "love their settings", and who "have a variety of ways of showing their interest in them". He states that "they have strongly biased feelings for or against certain locations without articulating why", and that they "tend to care more about having stimulating place experiences, to get more out of them, and to resent settings that are sterile or bland". In short, they are interested in "the place experience".

Place attachment studies have been too circumscribed to investigate people's place experience fully. The contrast with "non-place people" who are only "aware of the setting when it is not working well" (Steele, 1981, 45) has seldom been made, nor have adventurers been interviewed to note their place feelings. Studies of those who have left their place (e.g. by Glendining, 1978) are a rarity, as are long-term or follow-up studies in the same study area. Also, modern, urban people may be more involved socially in their place than concerned about the place itself, but this aspect of place attachment, or of sense of place, does not appear to have gained much research attention.

The following sub-section details people's dwelling experience, showing how the totality of sensory experience in place is important to them. This material is in sharp contrast to the behavioural information gleaned from place attachment studies.

### 3.4.3 The Dwelling Experience

A "dwelling" can merely signify a house, yet its etymology is also derived from the verb "to dwell", and from the Old Norse *dvelja* (to linger or remain); it is also related to the verb "to be" in Old English and High German (Norberg-Schulz, 1977, 9). Therefore, "to gather the world as a concrete building . . . denotes the essence of dwelling" (and 'being': 9). A feeling of dwelling comes about through an "engagement with the world", through personal experience in a secure place (Dovey, 1985b, 48). There is an "appropriation" of place, involving both "a 'caring' for a place and a 'taking' of that place into our own being" (47-48). Humanists and phenomenologists have been instrumental in describing people's experience of dwelling. Buttner (1976, 277) states:

To dwell implies more than to inhabit, to cultivate, or to organize space. It means to live in a manner which is attuned to the rhythms of nature, to see one's life as anchored

in human history and directed toward a future, to build a home which is the everyday symbol of a dialogue with one's ecological and social milieu.

Heidegger has said that: "The way in which you are and I am, the way in which we humans are on the earth, is dwelling" (in Norberg-Schulz, 1977, 4). Norberg-Schulz adds the concept of "gathering" to this definition:

Man needs to gather the experienced meanings to create for himself an *image mundi* or *microcosmos* which concretizes his world. Gathering evidently depends on symbolization, and implies a transposition of meanings to one place, which thereby becomes an existential 'centre'. (1977, 7).

Norberg-Schulz refers to *genius loci* or the "spirit of place", which is heightened through an appropriate "structure of place", providing "a varying degree of extension and enclosure" in a building (1977, 5). This allows a person to feel "at home" in a place; the house is in harmony with nature if, in its design, it provides security and promotes a person's identity there (1977, 7-8). He has stated that "the existential purpose of building (architecture) is to make a site become a place . . . to provide the physical features which allow a person to 'dwell' " (1980, 18).

If a dwelling experience does not occur, a feeling of "homelessness" may result (Dovey, 1985b), expressed as alienation: no "authentic, deep and complete experience of the home" remains (Bachelard in Korosec-Serfaty, 1984, 305). Norberg-Schulz relates the lack of a dwelling experience to Relph's concept of placelessness:

In primitive societies we find that even the smallest environmental details are known and meaningful, and that they make up complex spatial structures. In modern society, however, attention has almost exclusively been concentrated on the 'practical' function of orientation, whereas identification has been left to chance. As a result true dwelling, in a psychological sense, has been substituted by alienation. (1977, 8).

Buttimer (1980, 24) argues that the centralizing authority of planning, together with urbanization forces and a rational attitude, have created a "placeless sprawl of concrete and plastic nowhere-land" in suburbia. In two contrasting quotations Devall (1988, 66) points out the difference between our own lived experience and the rational attitude which governs the perceptions of technocrats:

Human beings have rich emotional, cognitive, and body receptivity which can be used in cultivating sense-of-place. All authentic encounters with place are experiments in consciousness and bodily awareness - walking, breathing, seeing, touching, lying, rolling.

The overlay maps created by hydrologists, soil scientists, biologists, meteorologists, botanists and geologists do not fully describe our emotional and bodily connections with a place. Indeed, data can be objectified, abstracted and manipulated as mere

technical information. Unless planners and designers, architects and engineers are also field ecologists, cultivating their own gestalt of specific places, any master plan, development plan, city plan, regional plan will lack the quality of dwelling-in-place.

Dovey (1985b, 59), in a related article on the feeling of "homelessness", argues that rationalism and technology; commoditization; bureaucracy; large-scale, rapid change; the erosion of communal space; and, assumptions of professional superiority combine to create modern places "without the styles of the past"; "wiping out the anchored memories of the former dwellers", and leaving "little room for the expression or development of personal identity". When housing has become commodified, large apartment blocks (e.g. the council estates of London) and houses are designed so as to permit ease of construction and economies of scale. Housing for the masses results in an endless repetition of similar, bland designs: the creation of home environments, designed to promote the dwelling experience, is no longer at issue (see Berry, 1977, 52-53).

Phenomenologists believe that much of the recent clamour for "personalized" places or the preservation and restoration of distinctive, historic places arises from a desire to regain a semblance of the dwelling experience. Instead of forwarding monumentalism or internationalism in building design for efficiency and the accumulation of profit, a phenomenological interpretation of space would emphasize designs for people, taking into account their living needs (see Lynch, 1976; Porteous, 1971).

Alexander et al (1977) have looked at the design of buildings and public space to promote feelings of being "at home". Others have emphasized more "place learning" in environmental education (e.g. Blaut and Stea, 1969; Lanegran, 1986; Lutts, 1985) to help people become aware of the distinct qualities of their own places. "Place-making" and historic preservation have been advocated for cities (e.g. Datel and Dingemans, 1984; Ponsi, 1985; Violich, 1983). The movement to design "people places" is thought to be increasing due to an "architecture which does not try to preserve the particular identity of place" (Sime, 1985, 280).

### 3.5 Concluding Remarks

The perceptual, experiential and emotional realms of sense of place are inter-related, but each also has integral elements. The perceptual realm is primarily concerned with the assessment of space and place, situating a person over time in a familiar setting. The experiential realm is involved with movement through space, habitual routines in a place, and

length of residence, with people normally oriented toward building a bond to a place. Feelings of insideness and being a native in a place are characteristics of a strong bond. The place bond was described in the emotional realm, through people's feelings of place identity, place attachment and dwelling. A person's place attachment parallels that of sense of place, but the effects of social groups, including a person's context in the family, community and culture can be examined in sense of place research, with the personal importance of being raised in a place and having localized ancestry also emphasized.

Humanistic studies were found to be biased, in that place ties were assumed to be in a positive direction. Taylor and Townsend (1976) found that shared hardships can help to build bonds to a place, while Fried and Gleicher (1961) in their study of urban ghetto residents, discovered that unattractive places can be loved too. Underprivileged people may also be "trapped" in their place: a Marxist view of social space pointed out that space (and place) are affected by capitalist (and class) forces, with unequal rewards to members of society. Rapid social and place change through modernization probably erodes a person's sense of place, but this has not been thoroughly studied (see Hay, 1986, 1989).

Behavioural studies tended to focus on the individual, abstracting that person from the social and environmental setting, as in place identity and attachment studies. The importance of place settings to people became apparent in the discussion of place identity, but these settings were very restrictive from a geographical viewpoint. The holistic character of place identity was more apparent in the way that people identify themselves with certain places. Many specialist researchers, however, tend to limit their studies to small portions of people's lifeworlds.

The thinking style of modern academics is also evident in this chapter. There have been specialist treatments of place (compartmentalization); a hierarchical and linear ordering of concepts in these treatments; and many subject/object splits apparent in authors' views (e.g. using polarities to gain perspective on one's place, as in home/community, home/travels and space/place). Geographers have normally concentrated more on the regional scale, with the home and the nation receiving less attention. Psychologists have focussed on the individual level. Place as one's position in society was given over to the sociologists, yet such sociological material was not referred to in studies of place identity and attachment.

There are further difficulties in that researchers from different social science disciplines and sub-fields often seem unaware of material on the same topic from outside their particular sub-field. An example of this difficulty is the lack of mention in geographical place attachment studies of the importance of place identity (Proshansky et al, 1983). There is less interdisciplinary research undertaken on sense of place, but this topic demands a broad range of academic perspectives. The lack of collaboration is demonstrated by resistance toward the cross-fertilization of ideas between different schools of thought, as between adherents of positivism/behaviouralism and those of phenomenology/humanism. All of these patterns in academic thinking and research activity make it difficult to produce a synthesis of sense of place.

A gradual erosion of sense of place may be occurring among modern peoples (see Hay, 1988, 1989), giving cause for concern. This alone should provide impetus for sense of place research. But, because modern people seem to be resilient in finding ways to keep at least a semblance of home feelings, sense of place still receives little attention as a research topic. Other topics such as love, kinship networks and patriotism are given ample coverage by social researchers. If fieldwork is designed properly, more can be learned about the significance of place to people, particularly how a sense of place differs between indigenous peoples, rural residents, and urbanites. To reach a fuller understanding, however, sense of place research needs to go beyond the perceptual limitations that modern academics have displayed all too often. As Eluard has said: "there is another world, but it is in this one" (in Berman, 1984, p. 147).

Because of the lack of a comprehensive view of sense of place in previous research, I have had to devise my present research almost from square one, with attention to cultural and environmental setting; the social network within which people live; ancestral heritage of people in a place; and the insider feelings, rooted in one place, that people develop after long residence. In my research project, positive place feelings (belonging, security, identity and rootedness) have been contrasted with rootlessness, placelessness and alienation to bracket the phenomenon; modern and indigenous peoples have been compared; the development of sense of place has been described; and the variability of sense of place has been detailed, all to the



purpose of developing sense of place theory. A wider scope for investigating sense of place was deemed necessary to adequately develop this theory.

Several theoretical perspectives have also become apparent through reviewing academic literature in Chapters 2 and 3. Researchers have most commonly used humanistic, behavioural and artistic approaches to investigate sense of place and related topics. To attempt to avoid the pitfalls of past researchers, the theoretical bases of these three approaches are made explicit in Chapter 4. Phenomenology has been mentioned often. It is a philosophy, and it is most useful to my own research through the application of its methodology. Phenomenology is reviewed in Chapter 5, together with ethnography, as the latter is more appropriate to the examination of indigenous people's sense of place.

## CHAPTER 4

### THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO SENSE OF PLACE RESEARCH

Three approaches have most commonly been used in previous sense of place research: behavioural, humanistic and artistic. In this chapter I will outline each of these approaches; highlight topics of interest to a study of sense of place; mention usual methodologies, identifying ones most appropriate to my research; and present criticisms and advantages. The humanistic approach is dealt with in more detail because of its close association with sense of place. The philosophical background to these approaches is also considered at times, especially ontology (views on the nature of being and reality) and epistemology (how knowledge of reality can be attained, and the nature of knowledge), as such a background is often assumed by geographers. Because of this assumption, sense of place research has not had the breadth and depth of scholarship that it warrants.

Seamon (1987c, 18) states that there is a "need to become aware explicitly of the variety of philosophical stances, methods, and ideologies, and their various strengths and weaknesses", as "different research stances necessarily require their own sets of assumptions, methods, and priorities". Consequently, an awareness of the principal modes of academic enquiry relevant to a topic is helpful in the research task.

There are other approaches which could have been selected for review, including ethnographic, feminist, Marxist, and ones based on theories of structuralism or structuration. The theory of structuration, devised by Giddens (1979), is based on "structure" (referring to material and human resources) and "agency" (referring to social practices or interaction), with the latter both constituted by, and transformative of, the former (see Gregson, 1986). Structuration theory, though, is itself in a state of flux (Pred, 1984). Structuralism is too deterministic in its position that human behaviour is derived from social structures to be useful in research on subjective feelings, but this theory also emphasizes how meanings in human

communications are directly linked to the context within which they arise (see Craib, 1981, Chapter 7).

The theories of structuralism and structuration may prove useful in the future in understanding sense of place, although few practitioners have offered theoretical views on sense of place, except for Pred (1983) and, to some extent, Eyles (1989). Pred attempted to amalgamate time geography with structuration theory, noting that sense of place developed in a "becoming" process and that it was hindered by the fragmented daily rhythms of modern life. Gregson (1986, 191), however, has criticized the merging of time geography and structuration theory, explaining that they are "two different ways of interpreting the world", with the former including the physical world and more tied to the totality of social life. Eyles has described the geography of everyday life, referring to time geography and structuration theory in the process.

An ethnographic approach has not yet been used to study sense of place, although social scientists have commonly applied its methodology to the study of indigenous people's cultural ways of life. I will review its methodology in Chapter 5 with a view to incorporating it into my research design. The three approaches that have been selected for review - behavioural, humanistic and artistic - will each be dealt with in turn.

#### 4.1 The Behavioural Approach

Behavioural geography peaked in the 1970s, combining geographers' fascination of spatiality with psychology (Eyre, 1973), and demonstrating the shift in human geography toward scientific explanation. Behavioural geography has its roots in the stimulus-response behaviourism of Skinnerian psychology, but its adherents departed from such simplistic, experimentalist models of human behaviour, adopting a wider set of tenets. The main premise of behaviourism is that attitudes, based on beliefs, influence behaviour through the formation of "behavioural intentions". These intentions, once known, can then theoretically be used to predict behaviour (Downs, 1970). Golledge (1981, 1328) states that behavioural geographers are "more concerned with the reasons for behaving rather than with describing the spatial manifestations of behavior or the overt act itself".

Behavioural geographers have investigated perceptions, action space, mental maps, territoriality and preferences, all of which have an effect on the development of a sense of place (e.g. Goodey, 1971; Gould and White, 1974; Horton and Reynolds, 1969; Jones and Eyles,

1977; Lynch, 1960, 1978; Saarinen, 1976). A few researchers have delved into place attachment, residential satisfaction and mobility. The methods and interpretative style of behaviouralists are constrained, though, by their ideology, based as it is on logical positivism (see Bunting and Guelke, 1979; Seamon, 1982; Smith, 1979): people's subjective feelings are not included in most behavioural research (Ley, 1981a; Seamon, 1979).

An example of the behavioural approach can be seen in perception studies. These have been concerned with either theory-building (see Kates, 1970; Saarinen, 1976; Wood, 1970), or with direct applications, such as for natural hazards or proposed economic development (e.g. Burton et al, 1978). Behaviouralists attempt to link people's evaluations - as shaped by preferences - to behaviour, with a view to developing predictive theories (e.g. concerning recreation and landscape tastes, and willingness to move: Rapoport, 1976). A contrast with other modes of research is provided by Lowenthal (1972: in Golledge, 1981, 1332), who states that in perception research, behavioural geographers normally use "rigorous statistical model building", while studies by other geographers are "often metaphysical in outlook, anthropological in content and historical and literary in their modes of analysis and presentation".

Psychologists have concentrated on individual behaviour in places, with "limited attention to people's actions, and almost none at all to the objective physical environment"; there is a "lack of descriptions of actual physical settings" (Canter in Sime, 1985, 281). Dovey takes issue with Canter's behavioural approach to place, which Canter expresses in his book The Psychology of Place (1977):

the idea that 'place' is no more than behaviour in a setting with some cognitions of it is a little chilling to those concerned with experience and its deeper nuances of meaning. Personal accounts of the experience of place will not fit mechanistic explanatory models, yet are valuable in elaborating our collective understanding of place experience." (1985, 97).

Behaviouralists use such an approach in research on place attachment, place identity, residential satisfaction and mobility/migration studies, thereby restricting their outlook on topics which are closely related to sense of place.

These researchers, therefore, tend to have a limited view of life. They assume, without consistent proof, that a "strong relationship exists between cognitive or mental images and actual behavior" (see Bunting and Guelke, 1979, 454-456). They are unable to "quantify the

inner experience" (Leshan and Margeneau, 1982, 8), which places them in a paradoxical situation, as "subjective knowledge largely governs behavior" (Downs, 1970, 90). Ley drives this point home, noting that "subjective states are not observable and measurable phenomena in the same sense as objects are" (1981a, 214). Ley further says that the result of their research often "gives no understanding of why the relationship takes the form it does" (214, emphasis added).

Their use of positivism encourages "narrowly specialized internal research", which causes an "undue abstraction from its social context" (Smith, 1979, 358). If the human context is removed, meaning that derives from human interaction is lost (Ley, 1977, 502). The positivist technique requires the formulation of categories, yet there is much ambiguity and overlap in human affairs (Olsson in Ley and Samuels, 1978, 12). Positivists disregard values, although they themselves are part of a scientific ideology (Relph, 1981b); and so, they "cannot answer the most pressing questions of man-environment relations, which assume their distinctive character precisely because of the circumstances of context" (Ley and Samuels, 1978, 12-13). These points are especially important for sense of place research.

Other faults, at the ontological level, are apparent in positivism. In it humankind is "naturalized", or "made over in the image of nature", based on Comtean philosophy (Ley, 1978, 7); there is also a separation of people and the world, based on the philosophy of Descartes (Cartesian dualism: see Berman, 1984). With the "removal of all human elements" (except rationality), humans became the "mere product of an environment" (physical or social: Ley, 7). Giddens (1974, 3-4) notes that when positivism is applied to the study of humans, "phenomena relating to human values and actions are treated as objects to be studied in the same way as those investigated in the natural sciences", which result in "statements of law-like character", often to be used later "as instruments in the conduct of practical policy".

In this determinism, people become objectified and dehumanized. There is no freedom of choice, nor an allowance for subjectivity, "man's most distinctive feature" (Entrikin, 1976, 622-623; see also Ley, 1977, 500-501). Knowledge is compartmentalized (specialization), and findings are reported in value-free terms. The findings themselves, however, are not value-free, in that they support a mechanistic world view, based on scientism and a technocratic paradigm (Drengson, 1983; Relph, 1981b).

Control is a major aim of adherents to scientism. Relph states that to verify hypotheses in the scientific method:

it is necessary for us to separate ourselves from the structures and processes of matter or of society and to treat them as external to ourselves, thus demonstrating control over the subject matter . . . (1981a, 100).

Smith (1979, 358) notes that "social science's function is to supply technologies of social design and control", because "science's hidden agenda is how to win control and manipulate the phenomena being analyzed" (Zelinsky in Smith, 1979, 359). Indeed, Marcuse has argued that:

Scientific-technical rationality and manipulation are welded together into new forms of social control . . . The scientific method led to the ever-more-effective domination of nature [and] came to provide the pure concepts as well as the instrumentalities for the ever-more-effective domination of man by man through the domination of nature. (in Smith, 1979, 359).

And so, scientism creates an ideology which is too often used for the control of nature and people in the pursuit of capitalist goals. Instead of a search for explanation based only on objective "facts", there needs to be more exploration for wisdom and understanding; instead of general laws and abstractions, there needs to be an accommodation for people's personal experience and their uniqueness; and instead of an impersonal, geometric space of grid coordinates, there needs to be a realization that "space is a dynamic continuum in which the experiencer lives and moves and searches for meaning" (Buttimer, 1976, 282). As Sorrer says: "a geographer is not a collector of shells which are no longer the home of a living being" (in Ley, 1977, 509).

The critics of logical positivism, a more extreme brand of positivism, often forget that practitioners of positivism have often provided valuable insights into human behaviour in places. The use of social surveys, quantification and statistical analyses can identify trends across whole sections of society which would otherwise be difficult to isolate. Behavioural geographers have been instrumental in detailing people's actions in space and their more "functional" operations within their place.

For sense of place research, the greatest contribution by behaviouralists has been in studies on place attachment and identity, and in demonstrating which factors help to develop a strong sense of place. The subjective realm was not examined in full, however, due to the constraints of a behavioural approach; it took the efforts of humanist researchers (and artists)

to present this aspect more thoroughly. In-depth case studies of individuals, or analyses of creative, subjective work, can thus supplement positivist studies, or vice versa, to give a more complete picture of a particular phenomenon under study.

#### 4.2 The Humanist Approach

The current humanist position can be traced back over two millenia in Western thought. Humanistic geographers have borrowed an array of concepts from both ancient and modern civilization. From the Greeks has come wisdom about the relationship between people and the world, while through the Hebraic tradition humanists have recognized the importance of stewardship of nature (see Ley, 1978). The possibilist movement at the turn of this century, as a response to environmental determinism, initiated the formation of humanism within modern geography. French regional geography was assessed later (Buttimer, 1969), as were cultural geography and the newer fields of phenomenology, existentialism and gestalt psychology, to develop humanistic geography.

French regional geographers just after the turn of the century studied the character or *genre de vie* (way of life) of a distinct (natural) region, termed *pays*, as a key to understanding the "regional personality" and "regional consciousness" of its residents (Vidal de la Blache in Buttimer, 1969). From the 1930s cultural geographers concentrated on the morphology of landscape (after Sauer: see Leighly, 1963). How a people's culture shaped their landscape (called the cultural landscape), and how a culture's ideas diffused into its regions were the main topics of research. By the early 1960s, though, scientific explanation and quantification had become established within geography, overshadowing these forms of cultural geography.

Humanistic geography arose in the early 1970s, primarily to counter the excesses of logical positivism, practised by an ever-increasing number of quantitative, scientific geographers (Entrikin, 1976). Humanistic geographers wanted instead to investigate people's personal lifeworlds, the worlds of people's own experience, in a more caring, humane and value-laden manner, to "put man back together again with all the pieces in place, including a heart and even a soul, with feelings as well as thoughts" (Ley, 1978, 2-3, emphasis added).

The first reviews of humanistic geography (by Buttimer, Entrikin, and Tuan) appeared in the Annals of the American Geographers in 1976. It is difficult to assess which geographers are actually "humanistic" (Porteous, 1989): few geographers call themselves "humanistic

geographers", and there is still no such category listed in the International Geographical Union, or in the American Association of Geographers. And so, in the research that I have reviewed, if material seemed humanistic and was of use to my topic of study, then it is included in this discussion.

The goals of humanistic studies are said to include careful description of particular lifeworlds; understanding of general patterns and universal structures based upon these descriptions, through the use of phenomenological methods (Seamon, 1982, 1987c); and "reconciliation of social science and man, to accommodate understanding and wisdom, objectivity and subjectivity, and materialism and idealism" (Ley, 1978, 9). Harvey saw this field of enquiry as producing "an acute sensitivity to place and community, to the symbiotic relations between individuals, communities and environments" (in Pickles, 1985, p. 48). Tuan believes that humanistic geography must "be tolerant of ambiguity and paradox, philosophically inclined, and directed towards an understanding of the appreciation of landscape, of attachment to place, and of the range of environmental experience" (in Relph, 1981b, 132).

A common view of humanistic geographers is that "one's goals, intentions, and purposes can never be totally isolated from one's experience and knowledge of the world" (Entrikin, 1976, 625). Recently Norton (1987, 22) has written that "the central aim is the explicit reinstatement of human intentionality, humans, and culture into geography", while Pocock (1988a, 1) adds that this branch of geography uses the perspective of humanism, taking "especial account of other distinctive or quintessentially human characteristics - feeling and emotion, creativity and reflection - while not denying rationality and reason as human qualities".

There are a variety of thoughts expressed on the ontological characteristics of humanistic geography. Ley (1981b, 253) describes it as "a theoretical perspective", while Smith (1979, 367) states that humanism is only an "attitude". The epistemological position of this field is anthropocentric, with an emphasis on subjectivity and individuality. Synthesis is dialectical (an organic relationship that is studied by looking at polar opposites) and contextual, and the focus in research is on individuals (Ley, 1978, 11-12; Norton, 1987, 22; Rowntree, 1987, 558). Ley regards the field as a counter current, emerging to "highlight the distinctively



human components of mind, consciousness, values, or perception", and one "which would seek affinities with the humanities" (1981b, 250).

Ley (1977, 501) has stated that the subjective was relegated by scientists to the realm of the "metaphysical" (i.e. unknowable) through positivist research methods; and so, it was cast aside by mainstream geography as "mere description". He highlights the need to clarify the philosophical basis of humanism in geography, particularly at the epistemological level (1978, 9). He also discusses two potential areas of criticism regarding methodology, that of "naive empiricism" and of "idiosyncrasy" in the case study approach of individual lifeworlds (1978, 15). Entrikin (1976) has been critical of the whole humanist enterprise, branding it reactionary and bereft of validation in its methodology. Entrikin wrote that:

. . . phenomenological reductions 'bracket' existence and allow one to enter a transcendental realm: essential insight is attained at this transcendental state . . . essential insights are [seen to be] valid in that they are self-evident . . . one's description of these contents of consciousness thus becomes highly personal. (1976, 630).

His position, though, was later disputed by phenomenological geographers (see review by Pickles, 1985, in Chapter 5).

These criticisms forced some reassessment by humanistic geographers, although this was not always explicitly stated, which in turn initiated a search for a sounder basis to humanistic methodology. There have been two phases of this methodology within humanistic geography, with the initial phase ending about 1980 and the second still continuing. Ley has said that, in reference to human geography, "there has been more than a hint of naive theoreticism abroad in the past fifteen years" (1982, 252).

In the initial (naive) phase, humanistic geographers produced an array of articles and books, using such methodologies as personal reflection, etymology, phenomenology, the interpretation of literary texts (hermeneutics), and reviews of academic (and archival) material as their bases of investigation. Quantification has been used by some researchers in the 1980s as well (e.g. Eyles, 1985; Hay, 1986), since, in empirical studies, "some form of measurement" is often useful, "if only in the form of a simple item count: it is the "mystique about measurement" that is rejected, as is the dualism, abstraction, and dehumanizing manner of positivists (Ley, 1978, 13, emphasis added; see also Eyles, 1985, 44).

By 1980 the humanist position in geography was not fully established. Relph (1981b, 131 & 134) stated that "there is no explicit humanistic tradition in geography", and that "humanistic geography at present consists of little more than a few expressions of possibilities". Several topics of interest to sense of place research had been investigated, however, including fields of care (networks of concern within a place); environmental appreciation and the interpretation of landscape; interpretation of literary works (and of paintings); home; habit fields (regular activities in a familiar place); geopiety (reverence for Nature: Tuan, 1976a) and sacred space; existential space; social space; insider/outsider; the taken-for-granted world of everyday experience; and place and placelessness. Key books produced in this period include Topophilia (Tuan, 1974b); Place and Placelessness (Relph, 1976); Space and Place (Tuan, 1977); Humanistic Geography, Prospects and Problems (Ley and Samuels, 1978); A Geography of the Lifeworld (Seamon, 1979); and The Human Experience of Space and Place (Buttimer and Seamon, 1980).

In the 1980s humanistic geographers demonstrated a continued ability to introduce new perspectives on people/place relationships. Reviews of "cultural/humanistic geography" which began in 1981 in Progress in Human Geography, have helped to establish this area as a field of geographical enquiry. Methodological initiatives were undertaken to combat earlier deficiencies; while the insights of artists continue to be used, as in personal reflection, methods of other social science disciplines are now being adapted to humanistic geography.

From history comes the use of local and oral histories (Ley, 1983a, 269); from sociology comes participant observation (the researcher as insider, as in Rowles, 1978: see Rock, 1979; Smith, 1981, 1984); from ethnography comes anthropologists' approaches to fieldwork (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983); and from psychology comes in-depth interviewing, often using phenomenological methods (see Giorgi, 1975, 1985; Hycner, 1985; Korosec-Serfaty, 1984; Ley, 1983a; Seamon, 1982). Norton (1987, 26-27) advocates that the appropriate scale of research for cultural (including humanistic) geography should be the small group instead of the individual, which has been followed by Burgess et al (1988a, 1988b) and by Rodaway (1988) in fieldwork. Barnes and Curry (1983) suggest that a contextual approach should be used in the study of place. Ley (1978, 13) earlier stated that the "humanist venture" should "also be applied reflexively to the researcher", but this has rarely

been done, except to some extent by Buttimer (1987a), Eyles (1985), Hay (1986) and Seamon (1987b).

Several new topics have appeared as a result of this "re-working" of humanistic geography in the 1980s, including the effect of strangers in a place (Tuan, 1986); place annihilation, or "topocide", by technocrats (Porteous, 1989); the examination of artistic expressions of place (e.g. Lutwack, 1984; Pocock, 1981; Porteous, 1985a; Prince, 1984; Seamon, 1984a); the experience of dwelling (Korosec-Serfaty, 1984; Norberg-Schulz, 1985; Seamon and Mugerauer, 1985); the sensory and emotional experience of place (Porteous, 1985b, 1986a; Porteous and Mastin, 1985; Seamon, 1984a); and interpretations of landscape experience (e.g. Cosgrove, 1984; Engle, 1983; Jackson, 1984; Nogue i Font, 1985; Violich, 1985). New perspectives on sense of place (Eyles, 1985; Hay, 1986, 1988, 1989; Ley, 1983b, Chapter 5; Lewis, 1979; Saarinen et al, 1982) have also been forthcoming.

Criticisms of humanistic geography, however, both from within and from without, are still common. Ley (1981b, 252) states that "the literature is sometimes guilty of overstatement . . . values, meanings, consciousness, creativity, and reflection may well have been overstated, while context, constraint, and social stratification have been under-developed". He further says that "humanistic work errs toward voluntarism and idealism", and that the methodology is "overly subjective". He suggests (1981b, 253) that the role of intentionality may have been "exaggerated": the construction of place may have been unintentional, or the expression of an individualistic or collective ideology; he also states that "constraints" on action and the effect of social groups need further study.

Relph (1981b, 134-135) cautions that "humanism is always close to banality" in that it expresses "vague sentiments" about "human needs or the human condition". He would also like more "environmental humility" in geographers' attitudes to redress the overbalance of scientism and an anthropocentric position (161-164). Pickles (1985) questions humanistic geographers' application of phenomenology, asserting that they have misused key principles of this philosophy (reviewed in Chapter 5).

To combat this latest round of criticism, methods that view life as a complete entity have been suggested (Hay, 1988), such as a combination of the in-depth, descriptive manner of ethnography (with reflexivity) and the enquiring manner of phenomenology. A recent

review article on humanistic geography by Pocock (1988a) also lends greater clarity to this developing academic research area, outlining its philosophical basis, aims, characteristics, subject areas, methods, analytical framework and potential applications. It appears that the humanist enterprise will continue in geography, bringing new insights into people's understanding of their relationships with place.

#### 4.3 The Artistic Approach

The artistic approach is aligned to the humanist one, but is not constrained by any particular theoretical position. Artists provide descriptions of "unique experiences and events", using "intuition and sensitive seeing" (Seamon, 1987a, 16). Although their views are personal, and do not seek underlying universal structures, as in phenomenology, there is much to be gained from their views on place. The artistic approach can be divided into two types of perspectives: an insider's view, derived from artists who live in one place for a long time, and characteristic of regional novels; and an outsider's view (e.g. regional descriptions by academics, landscape appreciation and travel literature). The former has been analyzed by humanistic geographers for artists' "impressions of place", while the latter is usually associated with academic (and travellers') material on "landscape".

Although there is not a theoretical basis to the artistic approach, artists often express the attitudes of their own society, or the opposite of those attitudes, in an insightful fashion. An understanding of this approach thus enables both societal attitudes and the essence of sense of place to be revealed. Coupled with the methods of phenomenology, an artistic approach can add much to research design involving sense of place.

##### 4.3.1 The Insider's View

Artists are trained to portray the world in an interesting, idiosyncratic manner, to present a whole and subjective, personalized view of it. They frequently adopt an emotionally-involved style, in contrast to the dispassionate, rational detachment of scientific and scholarly treatments. Writers, particularly novelists, provide an in-depth account of people, which is often place-bound in one region. Within New Zealand Hulme has written evocatively of the South Westland region of the South Island (1985), while Shadbolt (1974, 1980) has written novels and stories based on places throughout the country; examples of regional novelists

elsewhere include Faulkner's southeastern United States; Hardy's rural England; Steinbeck's Monterey Bay (in California); and Henry Miller's Paris. Meinig says that "the best of 'local' or regional novelists can evoke a keen sense of the individuality of places; the skilful novelist often seems to come closest of all in capturing the full flavour of the environment" (in Pocock, 1981, 12).

Regional novelists who have lived a lifetime (or at least their formative years) in one place are able to encapsulate the "essence" of their place in their writing, because "a region is inside the writer with a sense of place" (Relph, 1976, 67). These writers can become the "inperfs" of a place (as opposed to outsider 'experts') if they are self-conscious, articulate insiders who have outsider contacts or skills (Porteous, 1989, 213). Their emotional, intuitive ability is emphasized by Pocock (1981, 10), who feels that "it is the deliberately cultivated subjectivity of the writer which makes literature literature and not, say, reporting . . . it is the work of the heart as well as the head".

Humanistic geographers such as Pocock (1981, 1988b), Tuan (1978a), and Meinig (1983) have reviewed the way in which some authors give us a fuller understanding of people/place relationships. Pocock (1988b, 96) states that "for the humanist geographer . . . literary texts may articulate qualities of lifeworld or place which might otherwise remain half-hidden". In this research there is attention to the context (social, historical, and physical setting) of writers, especially concerning the setting and the prevalent ideologies which may have shaped writers' views (or, which they rebelled against).

Gray tells us, in referring to literature from nations outside Europe and North America, how recent novels still need to contain a sense of place to be both different and authentic:

A sense of place is the only element a writer has at his command in a New Literature that has to be different. The elements of plot, character, action, use of dialogue, rhythm, and all the other techniques of making literature, remain the same. Hence, setting, the one variable, assumes great importance . . . when that place is fully embodied in a work, when it affects every other element, including the new blend of language used to describe it, we say that the work is distinctly different . . . it has some discrete identity of its own. (1986, 7).

In contrast, Porteous (1986b, 254) states that the "twentieth-century novel is increasingly a novel of alienation, including alienation from place . . . specific places seem to have given way to generic places: a cell, a waiting room, a suburban bungalow, all of which could be, and are, anywhere" (see also Porteous, 1985a). He further notes that "sense of place seems important

to literary geographers because they overwhelmingly study pre-First World War novels" (1986b, 254).

In other words, the increasing mobility of modern people since World War One, in "a world of increasing placelessness" (Porteous, 1986b, 254), apparently creates artists who produce novels of alienation, with little depth of content concerning one place. This position is somewhat deterministic, and does not take into account the variation in writing styles from countries around the globe, especially the styles of non-Western peoples (see Nightingale, 1986). Silk (1984) has also asserted that it is time for humanistic geographers to go beyond typical examinations of literature, and use instead perspectives from Marxism, feminism and structuralism, to gain further insight into people's relationship with place.

Examinations of writers' associations with place by academics of English literature display a different perspective which differs from that of most geographers. Lutwack (1984) and Nightingale (1986) are the most direct sources which I have yet found. Lutwack's book, The Role of Place in Literature, reviews the many uses of "place" in literature, national ideologies reflected in literature (also the topic of Nightingale's book), and "Placelessness: The concern of twentieth-century literature" (Chap. 6). In this chapter he notes that:

Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Faulkner, and many others depict the predicament of people who, because they have been uprooted by events in the twentieth century, have lost their feeling for traditionally honored places and spend their lifetime searching for new places to act in. (216).

In his review of Hemingway, he further states that:

Hemingway was a stickler for the precise representation of settings - 'Unless you have geography, background, you have nothing,' he is reported to have said. But Hemingway's strong sense of place is his means of emphasizing the disappearance of place among the good things people once enjoyed. (217).

Mobility and placelessness are part of modern writers' make-up. As Cowley illustrates:

Looking backward, I feel that our whole training was involuntarily directed toward destroying whatever roots we had in the soil, toward eradicating our local and regional peculiarities, toward making us homeless citizens of the world. (in Lutwack, 1984, 216).

And so, the placelessness of modern writers tends to pervade the characters in their novels as well.

Modernization has had a large effect on people's sense of place, but this has seldom been noted by humanistic geographers (except, to some extent, by Buttimer, Porteous, Relph, and Tuan); the mobility literature likewise has had little comment on the effect of

modernization. Reich, an artist, refers to the rootlessness and alienation of modern people over the past century:

Man used to spend a thousand years in the same place, his roots went down deep; he built his life around the rhythms of the earth and his mental stability upon the constancies of nature. Can a hundred years change his physiology enough so that the need for these rhythms and certainties no longer exist? (in Lutwack, 1984, 214).

It is most often the artists who bring out the importance of placelessness in modern society (and who are venerated for it); among academics it is rare to find wholesale criticisms and/or reviews of the modern system. One academic who has not shied away from an overview is Meyrowitz (1985), who, in his book entitled No Sense of Place, asserted that the recent boom in electronic media, such as television, has caused people's attitudes and behaviour to become more similar, reducing the uniqueness of places. There appears to be a "levelling down" of place experience in the mass media, which Relph (1976, 58) argues contributes to placelessness.

Apart from the novel, other art forms have received less attention from humanistic geographers. Paintings have been studied (e.g. by Prince, 1984; Quoniam, 1988; Rees, 1978; Shepard, 1977) to note the portrayal of images of landscapes, national and historical trends, and the environmental consciousness of (artistic) painters. Quoniam (1988, 3) states that among such artists, "reality is rendered and recreated through imagination", in a similar manner to how writers use "place" as a symbolic purpose (Lutwack, 1984, 29-31). Wilderness environments in the past century were often seen as hostile, while rural scenes were romanticized in paintings, representing the prevalent beliefs of Western people at the time. Poetry and classical music could be examined in a similar vein, but I have not found prominent works in the geographical literature.

Popular representations of place feelings, such as in modern songs, television and films, have not yet been explored by geographers either, although they contain a wealth of information on our present society's relationship with place. Songs such as "Homeward Bound" (Simon and Garfunkel), "Country Road" (John Denver), "In My Life" (The Beatles), and "My Hometown" (Bruce Springsteen), are expressions of people's positive place bonds from the music industry, whereas "heavy metal" music appears to represent the alienated state of modern youth.

The novel (and television mini-series) Roots, by Alex Haley (1977), described North American black people's ancestral bonds to Africa. Popular television series, such as "Family Ties" and "The Cosby Show" play upon people's need these days to see a warm, happy, (stable) family in a home situation, although studies on household change have shown that the typical nuclear family (mother and father, married to each other, with children) has become a much less common way of living in recent years.

Motion pictures and television documentaries are, perhaps, the best means of depicting an emotional attachment to place, combining visual scenes of personal commitment to place with the plot of a good story. A viewer is drawn into a world of intense, human drama for a short while, empathizing with the actor's feelings. Recent movies which have used this medium well to convey the people/place relationship powerfully include "The Trip to Bountiful" (1985) and "Places in the Heart" (1984), both located in the United States, and "Ngati" (1987) about Maori feelings for place in New Zealand; examples of recent television productions are "Chesapeake Bound" (National Geographic, 1984), and "Pitt Islanders" (T.V. New Zealand, 1987).

#### 4.3.2 The Outsider's View

Pocock has noted that geographers have culled "widely from fictional literature and yet largely neglect the more obvious and often equally evocative source of travel writings" (1988, 89). These writings are normally done from an outsider's perspective, to facilitate tourism, but there are also some works done by explorers who have lived (at least for a while) in the places that are written about. Some travel literature shows the writer's cultural bias more than they describe the place, although a series of guidebooks produced in the 1980s by Insight Publications (e.g. McLauchlan, 1985, on New Zealand) provides sensitive, in-depth commentaries on countries, complete with details on history, social customs and culture(s), as well as typical tourist advice on hotels, restaurants and "the sights". These guides make heavy use of colour photographs and maps to supplement the text.

This type of books gives some indication of a people's sense of place, as did books by geographers during the era of exploration, but they are still often somewhat shallow in this regard when compared with insider accounts. Another realm where outsiders have had much commentary on the "character" of places is in landscape aesthetics. This is a broad field, with



research from humanists most applicable to an increased understanding of sense of place. Humanistic geographers have been notable in interpreting the principles by which people appreciate their landscape (Porteous, 1982; see also Sadler and Carlson, 1982). Porteous states that these researchers have had a "preference for the nonurban, and particularly for rural landscapes" (56), and are "almost wholly concerned with the visual qualities of landscape", since "aesthetics, by definition, is concerned with surface, with appearance" (63-64).

Porteous (1982) further notes that there are "two substantive camps, the landscapers and the townscapers" (63). In urban areas, "the preservation of old edifices may not be wholly based on aesthetics, but aesthetic arguments are frequently advanced" (55). He says that there is a preponderance of "aesthetic theories of well-to-do eighteenth century Englishmen" (e.g. Lowenthal and Prince, 1965), with little "about women or about the mass of the population" (55). This "elitist frame of reference" tells us "very little about suburbs, apartments, and inner-city neighbourhoods" (55).

In landscape interpretations there are a multiplicity of meanings, depending on the vantage point. Romanticized notions of beauty are typically from an outsider, and are cultivated through the social background of that outsider (see Punter, 1982). In contrast "ordinary landscapes" are assessed and categorized by Meinig (1979; see also Jackson, 1984), while Relph (1976) denigrates the uniformity of most modern North American townscapes as "placeless", although such places probably hold meaning for their inhabitants.

To break the cultural stranglehold which most of us have in our conception of landscape, Relph (1984, 216), inspired by the phenomenology of Heidegger, advocates a deeper way of "seeing", demanding "that we regard not just the surface forms of things but exercise our imagination to grasp connections and implications". He also says that "it is necessary to think clearly", using an "appropriate way of thinking" which "responds to the essential character of whatever is being thought about" (217). To combat our biases, he goes on to say that we need "meditative or reflective thinking", because "calculative thinking analyzes, computes, organizes, classifies, and measures; it does not pause to reflect upon itself as it busily restructures the world" (218).

Better seeing and thinking, then, may result in a more authentic landscape description, showing what is truly there (Relph, 1984, 220-221). Seamon argues that using "a

phenomenology of environmental aesthetics" can denote which "building forms, spaces and surfaces evoke corresponding experiential and symbolic qualities" (1987b, 22). Violich (1985) attempted to "reveal the sense of place" of four towns in coastal Yugoslavia through careful, intuitive description, taking the position that places themselves can have a sense of place. Nogue i Font (1985) took the opposite position, looking at the place feelings of five different "landscape experience" groups in rural Spain (summer holidaymaker; hiker; landscape painter; 'neorural': the new urban migrants to the countryside; farmer), concerning their own landscape. She found that the holidaymaker had a "cultured bourgeoisie" view of landscape; hikers were "contemplative", or hiked for "sport" (competition), or "fashion" (due to folklore); painters brought with them their own perceptions of the landscape, modifying the real landscape to their own taste; new residents were developing a "sense of place"; and farmers are both immersed in their landscape, yet able to describe it in great detail, since it is their "intimate landscape".

Ethnographic description can also provide a new perspective on place experience: awareness can be heightened by leaving one's own familiar place (and culture), which can then be used to advantage. Using the an artistic frame of mind or phenomenology alone is difficult, as the mind is being asked to reflect back on itself, with no new vantage point: cultural bias may continue to be paramount. It appears that, for both outsider (academic) depiction of places and the investigation of people's place experiences, a combination of ethnographic and phenomenological methods, with an added artistic element, could provide richer, more accurate descriptions and research.

#### 4.4 Concluding Remarks

Each of these three approaches - behaviouralist, humanist and artistic - has provided insights on how to study sense of place. Behaviouralists do not include people's subjective feelings for place in their research, focussing instead on attitudes, which are thought to influence behaviour through the formation of behavioural intentions, themselves used to predict behaviour. Their positivist methodology abstracts parts of people's lives for statistical analysis, and also separates people from their experienced world. And so, holism and, to some extent, validity is lost, although subjective knowledge is said largely to govern behaviour

(Downs, 1970, 90). With their positivist methods, behavioural researchers are often thought to miss the most important aspects which make people human (Ley, 1981a, 214).

Behaviouralists have provided new material of interest to sense of place researchers, however, on perceptions, action space, mental maps, territoriality, preferences, place attachment and identity, residential satisfaction and mobility. Their survey analyses have also established trends across segments of society. To understand sense of place fully, the subjective realm must be further investigated. The humanistic approach in geography was initially one of reaction to the overly-quantitative, positivist juggernaut. Partially due to this origin, the philosophical basis of humanism, particularly at the epistemological level, was never adequately clarified (Ley, 1978). The humanist position assumes a world of meaning, and (primarily) uses qualitative methods to uncover the detailed experiences of people in that world.

Examples of humanistic geographers' contributions toward a better understanding of (a modern) sense of place include their early material describing fields of care, environmental and landscape appreciation, interpretation of literary works and paintings, home, habit fields, geopiety and sacred space, existential space, social space, insider-outsider divisions, place and placelessness, and the taken-for-granted world of everyday experience. Several new topics have appeared in the 1980s as well, including the effect of strangers in a place, the examination of artistic expressions of place, the experience of dwelling, and the sensory experience of place. New perspectives on sense of place have also been forthcoming.

Phenomenological methods hold the most promise for my chosen type of research, but were found to be applied incorrectly more often than not in the humanistic approach by geographers, who misinterpreted some fundamental tenets of phenomenology (Pickles, 1985). These flaws are explained in the next chapter. There also seems to have been little academic intercourse between humanists and behaviouralists on topics associated with place, although each approach has valuable insights to contribute.

The artistic approach has no clear theoretical basis, but artists' views can add to sense of place knowledge. The personal opinions of artists are closest to appreciating the significance of sense of place to people, and in describing people's sense of place. I termed this the insider's view. Because of the rich content of artists' works, humanistic geographers

and literary reviewers have mined this material to note patterns: on place in general; on artists' biases, as they come from different cultural backgrounds and eras; and on descriptions of specific places.

The in-depth, written accounts, impressionistic paintings, and even (some) films, television shows, and songs by artists were found to be able to best portray the essence of a sense of place. However, sense of place was found to be changing in modern society. The effects of modernization on writers of the twentieth century - placelessness, rootlessness and alienation - (which they interwove into their novels) were said by Lutwack (1984) to have been internalized chiefly because of these writers' increased mobility, although this is not always the case and is more common among Western novelists. It is interesting that modernization has seldom been mentioned as eroding sense of place by humanistic geographers (except by myself, Pred, 1983, and Relph, 1976), nor has this aspect received much attention by researchers of mobility and migration.

Academic regional descriptions, travellers' conceptions of places, and literature on landscape appreciation I have termed the outsider's view. The travel literature was usually found to be somewhat superficial and biased in outlook, although some insightful personal accounts are exceptions to this judgement, while academic treatments of landscape aesthetics often have a definite upper class/romantic artist slant to them. Some researchers on landscape interpretation solicited insiders' impressions to combat bias (e.g. Nogue i Font, 1985), while others adopted a phenomenological way of "seeing" that strove to notice underlying patterns and essences in the landscape or townscape (e.g. Violich, 1985). I suggest that a better approach to reducing bias in descriptions (if that is one's aim) is to move to a foreign country, which can force a person to be aware of his or her cultural assumptions.

And so, a combination of theoretical approaches should be used to investigate sense of place, augmenting each other's deficiencies. The humanistic approach is most suitable, but should not become too anthropocentric, individually-based (in data) or sentimental. The functional and operational aspects of people's lives can be gleaned from the behavioural approach, with survey analyses used to establish trends within a case study. The ideology of positivism should be avoided, as it separates people from their lifeworld; holds little regard for subjective states of mind; and encourages the manipulation and control of data (and of people)

in the generation of laws. Its ideology can be avoided by using descriptive statistics, and by bracketing statistical analyses with certain phenomenological principles (see Chapter 5).

The artistic approach can also provide many insights on sense of place, but has no clear methodology. An artist's way of viewing the world is valuable, but employing an ethnographic approach provides a well-developed methodology. This latter approach is most suitable for investigating indigenous people's sense of place, and complements phenomenological methods very well. Phenomenological and ethnographic methodologies will be presented in the next chapter. The methods used in my research project are detailed in Chapter 7.

## CHAPTER 5

### A REVIEW OF METHODOLOGIES SELECTED FOR MY RESEARCH DESIGN

The methodologies of phenomenology and ethnography were identified in the last chapter as being the most appropriate for my research project. Phenomenology provides a good complement to ethnography, and each has methods that allow an empathetic approach, the consideration of "subjective" states of mind, and theory-building in the field. Background material on phenomenology and ethnography is included prior to the presentation of their respective methodologies. Preceding the review of these two major methodologies, general treatments of methodologies of use to my research design are outlined in the first section of the chapter.

As Relph (1981a, 112) says, "the measure of any work is whether it adds to our knowledge of the world or our understanding of ourselves or enhances life, not whether it follows methodological rules precisely". By the close of this chapter the methods of phenomenology and ethnography in particular will be clarified, providing a basis for my own research design.

#### 5.1 Methodologies in General Use in the Social Sciences

Many methodologies are available to the social scientist; those deemed to be of use to my research project are discussed here. Self-reflection, oral history, group interviews and using video-tapes will be covered first in less depth, as these only supplemented the primary methodologies of phenomenology and ethnography. Social survey methods and analyses are dealt with in more detail, due to their importance for my research design.

##### 5.1.1 Self-Reflection

Self-reflection has been forwarded by Eyles (1985, 31) as a methodology in its own right, "alongside the empirical-analytical and historical-hermeneutic". There is an "exposure of

personal values" in this methodology, as well as an "interrogation of the arena from which ideas and theories are derived: the life of the theorist" (31). Academic socialization provides the researcher with a different, but not a privileged, position from respondents, by which he or she can assess a phenomenon under study (32).

When sense of place is the phenomenon under assessment, conjectures may be partially validated through comparison with one's own life experiences. Smith (1988) explains this procedure below, in reference to participant observation:

. . . the analyst's self is not a coherent, static assemblage of personality traits that is able to observe without absorbing . . . it is continuously redefined in interaction with others . . . As analysts live local activity, they become part of local place. As much of what a study is to reveal will be etched into the self as will be written into a notebook, and by reflecting on self, to reveal something of the nature of culture and group identity, the participant observer can begin to analyse the social world in which he or she is immersed. (27, emphasis added).

Self-reflection is similar to reflexivity, in which one momentarily distances oneself intellectually from simply living one's life; in order to assess one's behaviour or actions in the social world (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Wilson, 1971). Reflexivity thus parallels reflection, but the latter practice is less often directed toward a specific purpose.

### 5.1.2 Oral History

Oral history methodology involves soliciting responses directly from a set of residents toward building an accurate picture of the past in that area, as based on their own, personal experiences. Responses may be tape-recorded, if this procedure does not interfere unduly with the interview, or field notes may be taken. Respondents are often selected to cover certain aspects of local history, with "gate-keepers" of information particularly important in this data collection, as they can help or hinder the research process through their level of support. Networking is therefore the principle means of gaining entry to these key people, with such people sometimes approached either early or late in the research, depending on the researcher's level of local knowledge and the perceived level of support among gate-keepers (see Brecher, 1986; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983).

Because oral history is based primarily on respondents' personal experiences, it is more valid than that derived from textual sources alone, although such sources can be used to supplement oral history. In oral history, however, a researcher can only interview those who are still alive; biases are often present among respondents; and more recent events may be

excluded from coverage. Intersubjectivity may be used to reduce or bracket biases, researching a topic from the vantage points of several respondents who hold differing, or complementary, views. Porteous (1989, 218-220) notes that local history "is still not quite respectable in academe", despite its value in documenting people's "ordinary lives" from an insider's perspective. The use of oral evidence, derived from fieldwork, also forces a researcher into more qualitative realms, and away from academic preconceptions (Samuel, 1982, 144).

### 5.1.3 Group Interviews

I noted in Chapter 4 that humanistic research involving interviews has too often been based on responses from individuals, rather than on small groups of similar people. Group interviews have only recently been forwarded as a primary methodology in geography (e.g. by Burgess, 1986; Burgess et al, 1988a, 1988b; Rodaway, 1988), to be used in empirical research, although Seamon (1979) also employed this methodology in his fieldwork. These techniques have not been mentioned in major social research texts (e.g. Burgess, 1984; Eyles and Smith, 1988; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Lofland and Lofland, 1984), although they have been present as a methodology for decades (see Burgess et al, 1988a). Group interviews are an obvious response to correct the lack of social context inherent in individual interviews.

Rodaway (1988) describes the importance of "group reflection" in understanding a phenomenon, as derived from respondents' views gathered over a series of meetings. Respondents volunteer for participation, with all coming from a local area. Over a number of meetings, spaced at two-week intervals, they get to know each other and become more willing to make statements. A topic list is devised at the beginning of the sessions, and topics for the next meeting are given at the end of a meeting to enable reflection in the intervening period.

The researcher acts as group facilitator, taking a "back seat" role, and establishes a code of conduct to ensure that all respondents feel comfortable and are able to share their views. The researcher is also somewhat detached in manner, in order to maintain a research perspective. Rodaway found this methodology to be quite successful. He described a "tuning-in" period of about three months, during which the group developed, followed by a "full experience" phase of five to six months, when respondents were able to express themselves more clearly and fully (54-55).



Burgess et al (1988a) follow a similar line of group development, concentrating on developing the group into a cohesive unit, so that the group itself decides its agenda, and analyses are based not on individual responses, but on responses in a social context. Several facilitating skills are listed, such as attentive listening; using silences; not asking direct questions; drawing on silent members; keeping to task; handling conflict; protecting individuals. Group tape-recordings are made, with complete responses transcribed for analysis. Themes are determined from these transcriptions, and are verified/added to in consultation with respondents.

Neither Burgess et al (1988a, 1988b) nor Rodaway (1988) mention the value of developing a small group based on local residents who know each other well. This addition to group interview methodology could enable better coverage of a locally-defined research topic, where local knowledge is at issue, as long as a cross-section of respondents is selected who get along passably well with each other. Group interviews of this kind could also enhance a researcher's understanding of the community context of his or her research findings.

#### 5.1.4 Video-taping

Video-taping is included as a methodology because of its potential to guide an entire research project (see Burgess, 1982), although it can also be used as a method to supplement a primary methodology, such as the provision of a visual record of interviews in ethnography. A visual representation of interviews conveys additional information about respondents, such as their mannerisms and appearance, as well as their surroundings.

Video-tapes can be used to communicate the essence of a phenomenon such as sense of place much more effectively than the written word. Subtle nuances of people's character are quickly recognized visually; the qualities of people's places are also better shown than described. There are, however, inherent difficulties in this methodology. Some respondents may be reluctant to be video-taped at all, or their responses may be unnatural during filming. More prompting may be required, so as not to waste a lot of time and film (i.e. research funds), and to shorten the amount of editing.

To depict a place properly it should be filmed in all seasons, and less prominent features should be included as well as distinctive ones. The perspective of the director may be used, or a true documentary film may be made (Burgess, 1982). There can also be an insider

or an outsider frame of reference used, or both. Whether people are interviewed or just filmed in situ is also an important decision. All of this requires good planning, entry into situations, and ample funding and technical ability, making competent film coverage a difficult exercise in itself, let alone as supplemental to another methodology. With recent advances in film technology, such as small video cameras and good editing facilities, video-taping is simplified, allowing a researcher access into this methodology with little prior training required.

#### 5.1.5 Social Survey Methodology

To see whether relationships between variables hold true across a sample of respondents, or among subsets of a sample, survey methods may be coupled with quantitative analyses of responses, through frequency counts and statistics. Theory development is enhanced by such quantitative assessments, as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) explain:

Moreover, the idea of relationships between variables that, given certain conditions, hold across all circumstances seems essential to the very idea of theory . . . Quantification, as an aid to precision, goes along with this too; though this is not to excuse the indiscriminate quantification that positivism has sometimes encouraged. (19).

Social survey methods are often based upon questionnaire design, but may use another research instrument. In the former case, sampling design and how a questionnaire is administered to respondents are important issues. If sampling is done in a random manner, so that a representative sample of respondents in a population is obtained, then interpretative statistics, toward predictive statements, may be used. Sampling that is based on networking may still be representative, but is not random; and so, prediction from the results, especially beyond the setting of a case study to similar populations, is not warranted.

Questionnaires may be mailed or conducted by the researcher in person; may include open and closed questions; and may be very structured in design or simply cover a list of issues. The design of questionnaires involves the wording and placement of questions; the ordering of sections of the questionnaire (e.g. demographic background of respondent; questions concerning the research topic; summary questions); the scaling of responses to questions; and overall layout (see Oppenheim, 1966; Sudman and Bradburn, 1982; Warwick and Lininger, 1975).

A flow from simple to more complex questions is common in design, as is the placement of more easily answered closed questions, as in demographic ones, at the beginning

to build respondent confidence and rapport with the interviewer. Direct questioning on the research topic is often delayed until later in the interview, and may be in the form of an open question (Marsh, 1982). A statement on the research topic, use of the research, length of time for conducting the interview, and anonymity of response usually begins the interview (or mailed questionnaire), whereas comments by respondent(s) on the research and questionnaire close the interview.

When the questionnaire is administered in person, the interviewer has more ability to monitor the appropriateness of questions, and can ask probing or prompting questions, as necessary. Mailed questionnaires often have a low response rate, in the order of 10 or 15 per cent of total, reducing their validity. Basic issues involved with mailed questionnaires include who completed the questionnaires; whether questions were understood; and whether respondents were concerned about making detailed and/or accurate responses. For these reasons, interviews are preferred for small case studies, since such issues can be dealt with in face-to-face encounters (see also Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Marsh, 1982).

Both qualitative and statistical analyses are useful to try to find patterns in data derived from social survey methods. Ley (1978) and Eyles (1985) believe that statistical exploration can be done in research that has a qualitative emphasis, while Marsh (1982) details how social surveys can be separated from a positivist approach, concluding that they are not inherently positivistic (48-49). Eyles (1985, 44) notes that (statistical) methods "may provide important insights into the nature of social life . . . the statistical analyses must be regarded as means to explanation rather than ends in themselves".

Statistical analyses should be placed within an environmental and social context, through a case study approach, to bracket research findings. Qualitative data, which may be derived from phenomenological or ethnographic research, can give foundation and meaning to these findings. As the philosopher Weber has said: "Without adequacy at the level of meaning, our generalizations remain mere statements of statistical probability, either not intelligible at all or only imperfectly intelligible; this is no matter how high the probability of outcome . . ." (in Marsh, 1982, 100-101).

If qualitative methods are used as well, however, it is also necessary to set such statistical analyses within a philosophical framework, compatible with the entire research

project (see Eyles, 1988a, 1988b; Palm, 1986). The ways in which social survey methods and analyses are integrated into an interpretative, phenomenological philosophical framework is explained in the concluding section of this chapter, after phenomenology has been discussed.

## 5.2 Phenomenology

The philosophy of phenomenology involves the "orderly study of phenomena, or appearances" (MacLeod, 1968, 68). Relph (1981a, 100-101) states that phenomenology is "a coherent and complete philosophical position from which to address the world"; it is "a way of thinking that reveals itself in a way of being". Relph further states that "without doing phenomenology, it may be impossible to understand it" (106). Walmsley and Lewis (1984) provide a good overview of phenomenology in the following quotation:

In its simplest form, it affords a radical method of enquiry that proceeds from pure consciousness without presupposing an existent world. Its focus of attention is the link between experience and meaning in man's interaction with his environment, and its underlying value position holds that the social scientist changes an object of study while he studies it and because he studies, with a result that he needs to know as much about the eye that sees as about the object that is seen. Phenomenologists argue that man comes to know the world through his own consciousness, and that social scientists must therefore study how man experiences the world. (157).

Phenomenologists thus accept "the complexities and meanings of human experience"; they try to "forget the concepts and abstractions we have acquired in our formal education", wanting instead to "reflect on what we encounter directly" (Relph, 1981a, 102-103).

The philosophers Husserl and Heidegger are most often associated with the development of phenomenology, although there have been several others, including Merleau-Ponty, Schutz and Sartre. These philosophers have often expressed differing views of phenomenology, with Sartre blending existentialism into it. Existentialists concern themselves with "the question of the nature of 'being' and understanding human existence", and believe that people come to know the world through "physical presence, feelings, or emotions" (Entrikin, 1976, 621).

Johnston (1983) explains that existentialism differs from phenomenology "by concentrating on individual intentions and personal idiosyncracies, while phenomenology goes further with its search for essences and universal structures" (66-67). Buttmer (1976, 280) notes that: "Existentialists have been more concerned with issues of life - anxiety, fanaticism, despair, fear and hope - than with problems of knowledge and mind". Phenomenologists are

instead concerned primarily with "the nature of experience and the meaning of being human" (Tuan, 1971, 191). Their "aim is understanding - the coming to see more deeply and more respectfully the essential nature of human existence and the world in which it unfolds" (Seamon, 1982, 123).

More detailed goals are provided by Seamon (1982, 1987a): the "aim is not explanation but understanding: the coming to see more thoroughly and respectfully the essential nature of the thing and the context in which it finds itself" (1982, 122) . . . "The main aim in phenomenological research, however, must always first be clear, thoughtful description of the phenomenon" (1987a, 8). Pickles (1988, 252) states that:

The aim of the phenomenological method is the rigorous description of the essential structures that constitutes objects in their various modes of givenness.

The phenomenological method is thus concerned with the ontological (the way of being of things, facts, objects, experiences etc.), and not with the ontical (the world of things and facts: Pickles, 252). Pickles terms "phenomena" as "the way in which things and objects which are not things are given to us; the way they are constituted", implicating "both object and subject" in a binding relationship (249). Knowledge is said to be socially constructed (i.e. not just absolute 'facts'), and it is "this phenomenal realm of socially constructed meaning that the phenomenologist seeks to describe" (1988, 249).

Phenomenologists claim that there is "no objective world independent of man's experience . . . all knowledge proceeds from the world of experience and cannot be independent of that world" (Holt-Jensen in Browett, 1984, 178). Buttmer expands upon this point, referring to Merleau-Ponty's critique of scientific perception:

Our experience of the world is not first as science described it . . . we need to get behind such explanations in order to describe human behavior. (in Buttmer, 1976, 282).

Using an objective view would lead to a further "epistemological dilemma of how an external, objectively existing 'reality' can be known by a (subjective) consciousness arbitrarily understood as a 'thinking substance'" (Pickles, 1985, 35). Philosophers also ask "whether reality can be independent of consciousness" (Kockelmans in Pickles, 1985, 36).

Phenomenologists have pointed out that science, "as a human enterprise, presupposes . . . this pre-given world of life which exists in common for all" (Husserl in Pickles, 1985, 116). Scientists therefore make an *a priori* assumption about reality that it is the way it is (i.e.

they take for granted the lifeworld), and they then proceed to investigate "whatever in it happens to be necessary for their particular ends" (Husserl in Pickles, 115). The lifeworld, the "world immediately given in experience" (Entrikin, 1976, 621), is not at issue in their investigations, instead becoming an assumption. Pickles (1988, 238, 252) calls this the "natural attitude", the naive acceptance of the givenness of the world, as opposed to the "philosophical attitude", "which asks critically about the intentional structure of experience".

Pickles (1985) makes a distinction between "geographical phenomenology" and "phenomenological geography", asserting that the former is the typical approach in geography, amounting to an incorrect appraisal and application of phenomenology. In a thorough review of the use of phenomenology in geography, he notes that Entrikin (1976) had a flawed interpretation of phenomenology, based on humanistic geographers' errors in this respect. They had used a phenomenological approach which was untrue to its philosophy: humanistic geographers believed that intentionality was voluntaristic (i.e. intentions towards something), compared with intentions as the unreflective holding of some object in consciousness (Pickles, 59-50, 72). Intentionality is better defined as a:

basic character of consciousness, of always directing itself to that which it is not. Thus, every experience is an experience of something, and is correctly said to be 'intentionally related' to this something . . . in (the) unreflective holding of some object or other in consciousness, we are turned or directed towards it: our *intentio* goes out towards it. (Pickles, 1985, 96).

Korosec-Serfaty (1985, 67) explains intentionality further, adding that it:

describes the relationship of man-in-the-world as a relationship of creating meaning. Things and events . . . acquire their meaning, value, and strength insofar as the subject, his or her action, and his or her impulses are oriented toward them . . . The things and events around us constitute 'a whole that we process in this or that way, with which we act and that motivates us.' (inner quotation by Graumann).

Humanistic geographers treated the lifeworld and people's experiences as research objects, rather than perceiving the lifeworld as people's context and surroundings, with phenomenology properly used to investigate how experiences are constituted by people within their lifeworld (Pickles, 1985). Experiences were also merely described, instead of using intuitive reflection to see how they were constituted, using people's experiences to point towards universal essences and structures, and the emphasis was on individual's experiences as opposed to those of small groups within a societal context. Pickles points out the error of applying phenomenology in this fashion:

What we do not arrive at are descriptions of the world naively given in its immediacy in the natural attitude . . . We do not arrive at 'phenomenological descriptions' of everyday activities such as going to the mailbox. (1985, 109).

The typical geographical treatment of "place" (as an object) thus serves as an example of how not to investigate people's lifeworlds fully:

place is accepted as unquestioned . . . it is never fully clarified . . . the concepts of space, place, distance, home, travel, etc. . . . are not seen to be problematical . . . (Pickles, 1985, 79).

And so, in keeping with the philosophy of phenomenology, it is incorrect to treat people's lifeworld as an object of study, or geographical experience as a phenomenon (Pickles, 1985, 44-45). Instead, the lifeworld should be seen as the "cultural world surrounding us, and differs from the lifeworld of other cultures"; it is "the world which we constantly 'live in', and in which we find, not 'objects' or 'things' as such, but houses, fields, gardens, etc." (i.e. the actual world of people's lived experience: 115). He later adds that "the lifeworld is not the final foundation of phenomenological investigation, but is itself also constituted . . . " (118): "The task of phenomenology is to clarify this universal *a priori* of the lifeworld, and to show how the positive sciences are grounded in it" (117).

#### 5.2.1 The Phenomenological Method

Besides being a coherent philosophy, phenomenology also has a methodology, based on the eidetic reduction, dialectics and hermeneutics. These terms will be explained, followed by examples of the application of phenomenological methods. Korosec-Serfaty (1984, 308) states that "the eidetic method derives from the intention to find out what is essential (or intrinsic) to a phenomenon", and adds that what is eliminated is "contingent and incidental" (1985, 68). Seamon (1987a, 16) states that phenomenology is eidetic because "it uses specific examples of behavior, experience, and meaning to render descriptive generalizations about the world and human living". The "essential elements of a phenomenon" are uncovered, as well as its relationships (Korosec-Serfaty, 1985, 68).

The search for essence (*eidos*: Pickles, 1985, 108) is accomplished through "bracketing", separating the phenomenal content (e.g. space) from the phenomenon (e.g. modern people's feelings for that space, as embodied in their notion of place). There is a "quest for unity of meaning in the subject", "because experience is multifaceted" (Korosec-Serfaty, 1984, 308). Bracketing suspends the researcher's meanings and interpretations as

much as possible (Hycner, 1985, 280-281), with "fidelity to the phenomenon" maintained through recording anything "the subject feels is worthy of mentioning", as well as through "making explicit the perspective of the researcher" (Pickles, 1985, 99).

A dialectical analysis involves the consideration of reciprocal relationships within an organic whole. Regarding dialectics in phenomenological methodology, Lalande (in Korosec-Serfaty, 1984, 303) states that, in general use, this refers to "any sequence of thoughts or even of facts which logically depend one on another". In the psychological realm, Korosec-Serfaty distinguishes three main aspects:

On the one hand, the world and human activities imply tensions between opposite poles. On the other hand, these processes of opposition function as unified systems. Finally, the relationships between opposite poles are dynamic. (1984, 303).

Examples of such scales in sense of place research could include:

- a) inside - outside (and those who gain a sense of place compared with those who lose it; residents - strangers);
- b) home - away (and those who stay contrasted with those who leave);
- c) modern - indigenous;
- d) urban - rural; and,
- e) observer - observed (for the researcher: in the research situation as opposed to out of the situation; analytical thought versus intuitive reflection).

The last item in phenomenological methodology, hermeneutics (the interpretation of texts), is used in "the uncovering of meaning", to "reach the single or multiple meanings hidden beyond what is immediately given" (1985, 69). This methodology is guided by the principle aim of phenomenology, as clarified by Pickles (1985, 61):

The phenomenologist's task is to bring this pre-reflective world into transparency in order to allow it to be examined . . . 'to make understandable that which presents itself as brute fact, by making evident its constitution'. (Husserl in inner quotations).

And so, in their research phenomenologists seek "the meaning of events, not their causes" (Entrikin, 1976, 618), to "expose the underlying essential structures of knowledge of the world", and to "achieve insights into these essences" (617). Giorgi states that, as opposed to most scientific research which first measures a phenomenon and "then tries to assess the meaning of the measurement", the phenomenological method "explores meaning directly . . . by interrogating the qualitative aspects of phenomena" (1975, 101-102).



To achieve clarity of thought, phenomenological researchers attempt to avoid predefinitions, suspend preconceptions, and be presuppositionless, that they might encounter experience directly, and investigate a phenomenon on its own terms (see Enrikin, 1976; Harrison and Livingstone, 1980; Relph, 1981a; Seamon, 1982). In their practices, they rely on "all kinds of evidence, inner or outer, less or more tangible", and do not seek explanation or the establishment of a guiding theoretical framework beforehand, instead allowing "general patterns to appear in their own time and fashion" (Seamon, 1982, 122-123).

Seamon (1987a, 8) states that "context and method are inseparable in phenomenology"; the method selected "arises in relation to the particular qualities of the phenomenon one studies". Methods to penetrate the taken-for-grantedness of people's lifeworlds include: the use of intuition, insight, thoughtful reflection, sympathetic understanding and empathetic looking, to "intuitively discern the various appearances of things for the subject" (Korosec-Serfaty, 1985, 68; see also Ley, 1977, 503; Relph, 1985; Seamon, 1984b, 1987a, 7 and 16; Violich, 1985); employing intersubjectivity to "elicit a dialogue between individual persons and the 'subjectivity' of their world" (Buttimer, 1976, 282); soliciting in-depth qualitative descriptions from people (e.g. Giorgi, 1975; Hay, 1986; Hycner, 1985; Korosec-Serfaty, 1984; Nogue i Font, 1985); compiling life histories of others or the researcher (e.g. Buttimer, 1987a, 1987b; Eyles, 1985; Seamon, 1987b); personal observations of other's lifeworlds (e.g. Rowles, 1978; see also Smith, 1984).

Examples of interview-based research from Korosec-Serfaty (1984), Hycner (1985) and Giorgi (1975) will be presented to show these researchers' use of phenomenological methods and their means of interpreting results, with the field methods of Korosec-Serfaty described to give an example of that aspect of research design. Korosec-Serfaty conducted semi-directed interviews with a random sample of French residents, from both rural villages and urban neighbourhoods, to investigate their dwelling experiences in attics and cellars. Interviews took from one hour and thirty minutes to three hours, were held in respondents' homes, and were tape-recorded. The tapes were later transcribed, and analyzed by "grouping the dweller's statements into a limited number of categories, called here themes or meaning categories, drawn out of what seemed to be similar descriptions of various aspects of one phenomenon" (1984, 308).

The analysis was "context-bound", but had "no statistical aim" (Korosec-Serfaty, 1984, 308). The number of interviews provided the researcher with "a richer amount of descriptions centered on the same topic", and allowed "a wider and more acute phenomenological description" (308). The eidetic method was used to find out "what is essential to a phenomenon", while hermeneutics was applied to the "interpretive [*sic*] reading of some key words" (308). In this fashion, Korosec-Serfaty was able to go beyond conventional descriptions, and gain new meaning from this taken-for-granted subject (318).

In comparison with scientific and positivist methods, Hycner (1985), in a review of phenomenological methodology, notes that phenomenologists seldom select a random sample of people to study, partly because their desire is to "illuminate human phenomena and not, in the strictest sense, to generalize the findings"; instead they often "seek a particular type of person for study" (294). Findings from only a few people can be most useful, since qualitative issues are at stake (295). Control groups are not necessary, as the researcher is primarily concerned with "the very uniqueness of human experience" (299). Similarly, rigid hypotheses are not used, since the researcher "wants to be as open to the phenomenon as possible without constricting his/her perspective" (299). There is not a direction towards prediction, as phenomenologists do "not believe that the most meaningful aspects of human beings can be predicted" (299). Also, due to a lack of a large enough "body of knowledge" that is phenomenologically-derived, phenomenologists seldom attempt to present a "comprehensive theory" (300).

A summary of Hycner's (1985) main points is given below:

- 1) random samples are not necessary using phenomenology (because there is not an impetus to generalize from the findings; also, the researcher may wish to target only certain types of people);
- 2) control groups are also not needed (since the researcher is concerned with the uniqueness of human experience: only a few people may be studied, as qualitative issues are the focus);
- 3) rigid hypotheses are not used (to leave the researcher open to the phenomenon);
- 4) prediction is not a major aim of the research (since phenomenologists believe that the most meaningful aspects of human beings can seldom be predicted);
- 5) retrospective views of respondents on their experiences are of value (since respondents would then have had time to consider the experience and to integrate it as part of themselves); and,

- 6) theorizing should usually not be attempted (because a large enough body of phenomenological understanding of a phenomenon is often not available).

Giorgi (1975) describes a number of steps in the phenomenological analysis of interview data, as derived from his research project on the phenomenon of learning. His study involved interviews with people outside a formal academic or laboratory context. In the analysis of data, first a "sense of the whole" is attained, through breaking the material into "meaning units", which themselves have "central themes" (87-88). The themes are next related to the structure (what) and style (how) of a phenomenon (91-92), as linked to particular situations (93-94). From this analysis should arise a general structure and style (94-95), focussed upon the subject of research, which keeps its meaning intact (100-101). The researcher is "engaged and plays an active role in the constitution of the actual data of the research", although presuppositions are minimized. This constitution of data occurs because "the initial description given in an open-ended situation by a subject is transformed by the researcher in dialogue with the subject according to the intentions and aims of the experimenter's research" (101).

Hycner (1985) notes that "meaning units" may be verified through "independent judges", and redundancies eliminated (286), while results can be later checked with respondents in a "validity check" (287-291). Pickles (1985, 78) adds that validity arises through a comparison between the phenomenological description and a person's own experience of the phenomenon, terming this the "evidence from consciousness: intuition, remembering, imagining." Seamon (1982, 122) refers as well to "intersubjective corroboration": "do I find in my own life-situation and experience what other phenomenologists have found?" Such a comparison is particularly useful for the topic sense of place, although a researcher has to allow that new perspectives on the topic may expand his or her view of it.

A criticism that has been offered is that language is not preconceptionless, making the phenomenological endeavour inherently biased (Entrikin, 1976, 631). Hycner (1985, 295-296) states, however that "a description is not the experience itself", and that "the very fact of interviewing a number of participants will help differentiate confabulation or defensiveness from the experience itself". Hermeneutics can also be used to explore the sense of words (Korosec-Serfaty, 1984, 1985). Seamon (1987a, 17-18) concludes that "an attitude of care

and concern for the thing will lead to a faithful verbal description", and thus "an accurate sighting and description of the phenomenon". Hycner (1985, 296) reminds us that a "retrospective viewpoint" may yield a richer description, because "the participant has had an opportunity to reflect back on the experience and to integrate it consciously and verbally".

Others have suggested that there has been too much focus on individuals, with little phenomenological research done on the influence of society or on the historical place-context (Smith, 1979, 367). However, Ley (1977, 505-506) has pointed out that lifeworlds are intersubjective and infused by the shared meanings of social groups. There is latitude within phenomenology to investigate phenomena beyond the individual level, but this has not been done sufficiently, except in recent studies by Burgess et al (1988a, 1988b) and Rodaway (1988). Indeed, Seamon (1987a, 19) advocates "a phenomenology of human-agency-within-socioeconomic-structures".

By way of conclusion, phenomenology's applications are to provide foundation (and new things to study) for science (Pickles, 1985); to heighten a researcher's self-awareness and enable greater empathy with others (Buttimer, 1976, 281); to better understand one's own life, which implies a rethinking of what one does customarily (Seamon, 1982, 122; 1987c, 20); and to understand environmental experience (Seamon, 1987a, 20). Its methods provide ample means of investigating people's lifeworlds, particularly their sense of place, in a more in-depth fashion than can be done using logical positivism.

A primary difficulty of the phenomenological method, however, is that the mind is being asked to reflect back on itself, with no new vantage point. Cultural bias may continue to be paramount, even if interviews have been conducted, since both researcher and researched may have similar points of view. Schumacher describes the struggle of becoming aware of one's own assumptions without some type of external perspective in the following quotation:

There is nothing more difficult than to become critically aware of the presuppositions of one's thought. Everything can be seen directly except the eye through which we see. Every thought can be scrutinized except the thought by which we scrutinize. A special effort, an effort of self-awareness, is needed - that almost impossible feat of thought recoiling upon itself: almost impossible but not quite. (1977, 55).

Ethnography provides a new perspective on place experience by virtue of its methodology; on the one hand awareness of one's own culture can be heightened by leaving one's familiar country, while on the other hand being a stranger in a new place can be used to

advantage as a research method. And so, for both outsider (academic) depiction of places and the investigation of people's place experiences, a combination of ethnographic and phenomenological methods could provide richer, more accurate descriptions and research findings.

### 5.3 Ethnography and Naturalism

An ethnographic methodology is typically used to develop a detailed description of another culture, but may be used on subsets of one's own culture as well. Through residence in a region, knowledge of the spoken language, and intimate study of the inhabitants, an ethnographer develops a written text, called an ethnography (Conklin, 1968, 172). Primary methods include direct participation in cultural activities; face-to-face contacts; and "a greater emphasis on intensive work with informants than on the use of documentary or survey data" (172). Naturalism is more a theoretical position governing research implementation than a philosophy; the theoretical development of ethnography is first outlined, followed by a review and critique of naturalism.

Controversy is common among anthropologists about what constitutes a valid cultural description, with theoretical statements desired but too often absent when ethnographic research is conducted in sociology. Instead, Hammersley notes that qualitative descriptions have been the focus, with interpretive (*sic*) ethnography "condemned to rely upon theoretical ideas which are vague and untested" (1985, 245). Another large problem is the ability of a researcher to understand adequately the deeply held beliefs of the members of another culture in the meaning framework of that foreign culture, especially if that culture has a completely different cosmology. Culture learning and sensitivity are therefore crucial in ethnographic methodology.

Ortner (1984) has provided a detailed overview of theoretical lines of enquiry in anthropology since the 1960s, noting that specialized interests have been pursued at the expense of a view of the whole. Cultural ecology was important in the 1960s, structuralism was incorporated into several anthropological schools of thought in the 1970s, while the relationship between culture and individual practice was emphasized in the 1980s. Structural linguists believe that "the way to get at knowledge is to apply linguistic methods both to cultural behavior and (especially) to meanings of words" (Frake, 1983, 65). This trend in

research, though, has tended to reduce the emphasis on fieldwork, with fewer case studies conducted of late (see Mitchell, 1983). Frake concludes that "the most telling indictment against the new ethnography is that it has not been notably successful in producing ethnographies" (1983, 67).

Geographers have also worked alongside anthropologists at times, borrowing anthropological terms to use in ways that were often not intended by their originators (Ellen, 1988). This "creative misunderstanding", however, has enabled new conceptualizations of terms in a geographical light, with spatial rather than social relationships the focus; Ellen believes that such manipulation aids in the advancement of research, and that geographers "should hardly be expected to resolve the fundamental problems of what constitutes social structure, social relationships, or culture" (1988, 251).

Another area of theoretical advancement in the past two decades has been in cross-cultural studies, also termed ethnology (Driver, 1968, 178). Driver notes that the division between ethnography and ethnology is not sharp, as "almost all ethnographies make comparisons at least with neighboring peoples" (179). Topical emphases may be the purpose of such comparisons, or whole peoples may be contrasted. Problems can arise in definitions of culture areas; in transferability of concepts between cultures; and in the use of similar methodologies in cross-cultural studies. Recent comparisons have tended toward quantification, with statistical analyses of cultural traits used to test whether these hold true across several cultures (see Levinson and Malone, 1980).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) have produced the most comprehensive (recent) theoretical critique of ethnography and its basis in naturalism. Naturalism will first be described, followed by their criticisms and proposals to redress its deficiencies. The major principle of naturalism is that a researcher should study the social world "in its 'natural' state, undisturbed by the researcher" as much as possible. The social researcher should also "adopt an attitude of 'respect' or 'appreciation' toward the social world" so that he or she "remains true to the nature of the phenomenon under study" (6). A problem of perspective characterized most anthropological ethnographies prior to the 1970s, since anthropologists were predominantly Western in origin and used their own perspectives when classifying the "natives" of other cultures (see Tambiah, 1985, 340-341). Frake (1983, 61) provides the

opposing viewpoint, that culture "resides within the thinking of natives"; Geertz (1977) asserts that the native's point of view must be paramount in research to achieve anthropological understanding. However, when ethnography is derived from naturalism, the "so-called objective reporting of 'what's really there'" is based upon "categories preconstructed by investigators who, in their scientific sophistication, (think that they) know better than the natives what the natives are doing" (Frake, 1983, 61).

Adherents of naturalism reject the standardized methods of positivism, since social meanings will "vary among people and across situations" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 7). The basis for this assertion becomes clear when an example is used of an immigrant (or researcher) venturing into a foreign culture. At first the person feels lost, realizing that what was taken for granted as "knowledge about that society turns out to be unreliable if not obviously false" (7); however, the stranger also "acquires a certain objectivity not available to culture members", and is able to see "fundamental assumptions, many of which are distinctive to that culture" (8).

Ethnographic researchers can thus become more aware of the context of social meaning than residents who live within a cultural setting. Through naturalism ethnographers turn culture into "an object available for study" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 8), having to learn the culture that they are studying "to understand the social meanings that inform it" (9). The use of ethnography to describe social groups within one's own culture, as is done in sociology, therefore does not mine the depths of this methodology; even in studying "deviant" groups, sociologists are still not forced to re-examine their own cultural beliefs, especially the basic assumptions of their own culture (8).

Ethnography is best utilized when applied to a foreign culture, in "a natural process analogous to the experience of any stranger learning the culture of a group" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 9); in such learning, there are no standardized procedures. Because people's behaviour can only "be understood in context", only "natural" settings (i.e. undisturbed by the researcher) are supposed to be investigated under the principles of naturalism (9). The approach adopted in naturalism "respects the nature of the social world", allowing it to "reveal its nature to us" (12). Ethnographic researchers therefore do not attempt to "impose their definitions of reality on others" (12), as is done in positivism. In naturalism a position is taken

whereby it is possible for an ethnographer to "construct an account of the culture under investigation that captures it as external to, and independent of, the researcher" (8). Hence, "the description of cultures becomes the primary goal" (8).

In naturalism, research is portrayed more as a "process of exploration", rather than as the hypothesis-testing and experimentation of positivism (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 12). Naturalism holds that "all perspectives and cultures are rational", and therefore can be understood through careful description. However, Hammersley and Atkinson state that naturalism does not allow this understanding to be explained (e.g. by common sense, 'material interests' or ideology), since description is the sole aim (13). There are not enough checks during the course of fieldwork on the validity of ethnographic descriptions; even among culture members, who do validity checks continuously, "causal explanations" are employed to "make sense of the social world" (13).

To overcome this barrier to validity, and to prevent any subject/object split in their ontology through the separation of researcher and object of study, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) advocate the use of reflexivity. Being reflexive is to recognize that "we are part of the social world we study" (13), and means reflecting on the research topic (and culture setting), in comparison with one's own experiences (and culture members' experiences) to reach a clear understanding of the topic under study. Hammersley and Atkinson do not believe that researchers can "escape the social world in order to study it", nor can they "avoid relying on 'common-sense' knowledge" or "avoid having an effect on the social phenomena we study" (15). They say that positivism and naturalism are philosophically flawed, since there is a search for "empirical bedrock", as if a body of data can be "uncontaminated by the researcher" (15).

A philosophical understanding of the relationship of researcher to researched is given by Smith (1988). She refers to an interactionist view of "self", in which the self is seen as "continuously coming into existence, like the rest of experience" (Mead 1927, 164) . . . it "exists only in relationship with other selves and cannot be reached except through other selves" (Mead, 155). And so, "one cannot exist as a self without the universal, the group, that makes the self possible" (Mead, 164). Smith therefore says that "the charge that the presence of analyst can damage or distort the data . . . must be challenged theoretically" (1988, 26). Smith concludes that "the issue for participant observers is not whether their presence



contaminates a social setting, but rather the converse . . . intuitively, personal experience suggests that it is I rather than the setting that changes during fieldwork" (1988, 26-27). There can be undue influence by researcher(s) in some field research, however, disrupting and even changing respondents' lives, either through contact or through policies enacted due to the results of studies.

Naturalism has a further difficulty, in that "all data involve theoretical assumptions" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 15). These assumptions must be made explicit, particularly as to which cultural world view is adopted in interpretation. Besides invoking the need for careful description, some methodology is also required, as "all research involves selection and interpretation . . . we could not begin to describe everything" (12-13, emphasis added). Therefore research design should consider both the selection of data and theory on how researchers participate in and view the social world.

Incorporating reflexivity into research design allows a researcher to have more flexibility in fieldwork. Theories start to be developed in the field while the researcher is trying to make sense of the data, and methods are checked out and adapted (or rejected) during the research process. As opposed to the goals of positivism (the discovery of universal laws) or naturalism (cultural description), the goal of ethnography, as informed by reflexivity, therefore becomes "the development and testing of theory" (19). Theory is generated by both empirical data and by the judgements and reflections of the researcher in this form of ethnography: it does not result purely from an analysis of the data (21-22). Frake (1983, 64) adds that "doing ethnography is a way of testing and building cultural theory independent of the particular theoretical concerns that motivated the research".

Frake's position is similar to that of phenomenologists, who are concerned that a researcher be as "presuppositionless" as possible while considering a phenomenon, and with exploring the "essence" of the phenomenon, with a view toward the search for "universal structures" (see Livingstone and Harrison, 1980; Seamon, 1982). An adaptation of ethnography away from the rigid tenets of naturalism is therefore desirable from a methodological point of view, and advantageous toward the development of theory.

### 5.3.1 Ethnographic Methodology, employing Reflexivity

The methodology of ethnography is seldom made explicit (Frake, 1983), with "training in fieldwork techniques (often) neglected" (61). In much ethnographic work "there is a lack of integration of data recording techniques, methods of analysis, and theory" (64). A variety of techniques is available to the ethnographer, such as tape recording, cinematography, aerial mapping, survey methods, recording and organizing field notes, interviewing strategies and sampling design (Conklin, 1968; Frake, 1983). Frake asserts that "none of these techniques (alone) are substitutes for prolonged observation, participation in daily life, flexible and sensitive questioning, and skilled use of a wide range of techniques" (1983, 63).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) have advanced a version of ethnographic methodology which uses the perspective of reflexivity. Because their methods are later adopted in my research design, they will be described in detail, supplemented by other sources. Of prime importance is the character of the researcher in ethnographic fieldwork, since the researcher is an "active participant" in the social group under study: "how people respond to the presence of the researcher may be as informative as how they react to other situations" (15 and 18). Because researchers vary in character themselves, the "social character of research" cannot be standardized (18). Frake states that "being a good fieldworker depends on qualities of sensitivity, adaptability and insight that are difficult to train for or to identify in advance" (63).

Since the researcher "may play an important part in shaping the context" of a study group, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) advocate that "data are not taken at face value, but treated as a field of inferences in which hypothetical patterns can be identified and their validity tested out" (18). An "experimentalist mentality" is adopted, where "different research strategies are explored and their effects compared, with a view to drawing theoretical conclusions" (18). Effects of the researcher on the social context are also noted.

In the research process to explain a social group's behaviour, "theories are made explicit, and full advantage [is] taken of any opportunities to test their limits and to assess alternatives" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 18). These theories, where relevant, should "be applied to our own activities as researchers and should aid the development of research

strategies". As such, the researcher keeps an open mind during fieldwork, gradually building theory.

Employing reflexivity gives the ethnographer the opportunity to "check out his or her understanding of the phenomena under study", and "to begin to develop theory in a way that provides much more evidence of the plausibility of different lines of analysis than is available to the 'armchair theorist', or even the survey researcher or experimentalist" (23-24). There is also more flexibility in methodology when reflexivity is used: "ideas can be quickly tried out and, if promising, followed up", allowing "theory development to be pursued in a highly effective and economical manner" (24). Theories can be tested too while still in the field, through the "logic of comparison", with the loss of "control of variables" (as in experimentation) "compensated for by reduced risk of ecological invalidity" (24).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) provide a summary comment on the value of their (new) view of ethnography:

Since it investigates social processes in everyday settings rather than in those set up for the purposes of research, the danger that findings will apply only to the research situation is generally lessened (ecological validity). In addition, ethnography's use of multiple data sources is a great advantage here. This avoids the risks that stem from reliance on a single kind of data: the possibility that one's findings are method-dependent. The multi-stranded character of ethnography provides the basis for triangulation in which data of different kinds can be systematically compared. (24, emphases added).

A theory can thus be "well founded" using their methodology, although there is no "absolutely conclusive proof": Hammersley and Atkinson remind us that "no method is able to do that" (25). They maintain that "reflexivity is the key to the development of both theory and methodology in social science generally and in ethnographic work in particular" (236).

Some description of the particular methods, including methods of interpretation, by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) will complete this sub-section. Other treatments of ethnographic methods (e.g. Agar, 1980), and social methods in general (e.g. Burgess, 1984; Lofland and Lofland, 1984) contain similar material. Conklin (1968) provides an overview of ethnographic techniques, stating that:

The ethnographer tries not to rely upon published outlines and questionnaires; he shuns interviews with informants carried out in artificial settings; and he avoids premature quantification or overdifferentiated measurement. Initially, at least, flexibility, curiosity, patience, and experimentation with many alternative devices and procedures are desirable. (175).

In initial chapters on research design and access to the research setting, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) emphasize the importance of defining the research problem; targetting one's efforts within a social setting (to the study group); and gaining access to that group. In subsequent chapters, they explain the various "field roles" that a researcher may assume, from covert to overt, and complete participant to complete observer (93). They caution against a researcher feeling completely "at home" in the field setting, as all sense of "being a 'stranger' is lost", as well as "the (potential) escape of one's critical, analytic perspective" (102).

The maintenance of a research perspective during participant observation is also emphasized by Rock (1979, Chapter 6), and by Eyles (1985, 38-39). Eyles stresses that it is important to be both inside and outside, as the former helps set the ethnographic context, whereas the latter provides the detachment for interpretation (39). Rock explains the importance of this dialectical methodology in the following two quotations:

The very conflict between participation and observation, marginality and 'going native', idealism and phenomenism, analysis and intuition, carries the research forward. (211).

The sociologist may move back and forth between the two roles or epistemological universes, exploiting each in turn, and allowing one to feed on the other. He may practice withdrawal and return, periodically retreating to the margins so that his sociological sensibility is renewed. (212).

Rock also says that little preparation can be undertaken for ethnographic research; and so, "the success or failure of a piece of fieldwork cannot be rigorously programmed" (197). A certain degree of "naturalness" is thus desired in the field, since, when "an observer enters a role effortlessly, there may be no stimulation from the provocative awkwardness which can attend being marginal" (199). A quotation from Whyte, who wrote Street Corner Society (1955) is included to illustrate the importance of this awkwardness in ethnographic methodology:

as I began my Cornerville study, everything I saw and heard was new and strange and all sorts of questions arose in my mind. But at this point I did not know enough or have enough data to ask good questions and get any answers. As I became part of the community, the richness of the data increased manifold; and yet I found in myself a constant tendency to take for granted the sort of behavior that is taken for granted by the people I was observing. (in Rock, 1979, 211).

Once an ethnographer has been in a field setting long enough to feel like an insider, the research perspective is lost, and field research needs to be completed.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) then cover styles of ethnographic interviewing, to encompass non-directive questions (to stimulate talking about a particular broad area: 113);

directive and specific questions (which may take the form of confrontation of informants with what one already knows: 115); and leading questions (to test hypotheses and penetrate fronts: 115). Listening skills are also important, as is intersubjectivity, to validate respondents' replies through comparison with other respondents. How people are selected for interview is critical as well: a representative sample may be chosen, or informants may be selected "on theoretical grounds, in such a way as to get the particular information required at that stage in the research" (116). Unsolicited accounts are considered, as is the 'audience' during the interview, since it may colour respondent remarks (188-192). Data from other sources (e.g. historical, previous studies and artistic) are reviewed too, with studies which take into account the social meaning for the respondents' context of most use. Multiple data sources are sought and used in ethnography, versus survey interviewing, where interviews are "the only source of data" (117).

Throughout the data collection process, participant observation (including noting the effects of the researcher) is ongoing, in order to provide a research perspective for the data (i.e. are the data valid?) and material for later reflection. Fieldnotes are also important, both to facilitate this reflection and as a data source in themselves. There are questions of selection (what to write down), timing (when to write it down), and style (how to write it down: Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 146). The researcher's memory is not relied upon ('if in doubt, write it down': 150), but writing should not interfere with the social context of the field study. The quality and content of fieldnotes changes with time in the field, since topics related to emergent issues are selected, with different aspects becoming issues over time (150).

There may also be more detail written on particular topics, with "speech rendered in a manner that approximates to a verbatim report and non-verbal behaviour in relatively concrete terms" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 151), reducing the amount of researcher inference. Tape-recording can be done to aid in this process, especially for interviews, as long as "a huge backlog of under-analysed tapes" is not generated (157). A decision should be made in the research design as to the desired mix of fieldnotes and tape-recording, as well as to whether the tapes will be transcribed (taking on average two to four hours per hour of tape) or reviewed (with notes taken on their content: 162).

In ethnographic analysis, the data must first be carefully read (or heard) to "gain a thorough familiarity with it" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 178). Patterns are identified and matched to fieldnotes; concepts relating to the research question(s) are also noted, either from the participants or the researcher (178). Emerging models come out of this process, which in turn are related to theories. A theory that is being developed "rarely takes the purely inductive form", instead being derived from established "theoretical ideas, common-sense expectations, and stereotypes" (180). New typologies are sought from the data, however, to inform the theory development, through categorizing and inter-relating that data. Standard sets of indicators are not sought, though, as in positivist research. What is required is "that the theory be explicit in its predictions of what will occur under given conditions", limited somewhat by the research context (including the temporal scale: 192-194). If it is "a valid theory of wide scope", it can "predict phenomena quite different from those in relation to which it was originally developed" (185-186).

Smith (1984) adds a further form of analytical procedure - logical inference - which can be applied to extrapolation from case studies. It is derived from an analyst drawing "conclusions about the essential linkage between two or more characteristics in terms of some systematic explanatory schema - some set of theoretical propositions" (Mitchell in Smith, 359).

Some "respondent validation" may be sought concerning the research findings, but Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) note that respondent reactions will "be coloured by their social position and their perceptions of the research act" (197). Usually only a few respondents are interested in overviews and trends in the data, instead being concerned more about what the research said about themselves or people that they know personally (197). Also, because "we can only grasp the meanings of our actions retrospectively", and "these meanings must be reconstructed on the basis of memory" (which is selective and biased), respondents may not immediately be able to judge a report on themselves which differs from the "stock wisdom". They need time to consider it, especially an aspect for which they previously took for granted (196). And so, this method of validation can be done, but may be imperfect in practice.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) emphasize the triangulation of data sources as a more appropriate means of validation, involving:

. . . the comparison of data relating to the same phenomenon but deriving from different phases of the fieldwork, different points in the temporal cycles occurring in the setting, or, as in respondent validation, the accounts of different participants (including the ethnographer) involved in the setting. (198).

Triangulation can occur too in the use of additional data sources (as mentioned previously; see also Eyles, 1988, 13), and between different researchers, including the possibility of scrutiny by different members of a team who are involved in the same project (198-199). Data is therefore not taken at face value, inferences are checked for validity, and the theories that are generated are analyzed and refined (200).

Kirk and Miller (1986, 69) add that the validity of observations must also be questioned, as in not "calling what is measured by the right name", and asking inappropriate questions of respondents, "the source of most validity errors" (30). They also note that "'perfect validity' is not even theoretically attainable" (21); however, confirmatory (alternative) methods can be used in the field to test whether a phenomenon, such as sense of place, is observed in a similar fashion each time (22 and 31). Testing the reliability of sense of place is not as crucial, since it is a relatively stable phenomenon among people (42).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) state that theories may be "macro", applied to "large scale systems of social relations linking many different settings to one another through causal networks", or "micro", concerned with "analysing more local forms of societal organization, whether that of particular institutions or of particular types of face-to-face encounter" (204-205). Theory development is seen as dynamic, with "analytic induction" used in its formation (202-203); Frake notes that "like any exercise in theory construction, ethnography requires insight, intuition, guesswork, and reliance on recollections of events beyond what is set down in field notes" (1983, 66). The theory that is produced is not final: it is itself subject to revision once future studies have been conducted.

The difficulties of writing ethnography have been addressed often (for a review, see Clifford and Marcus, 1986). Geertz (1973) advocates "thick description" to grasp the complexities of context and the significance of local knowledge, whereas Marcus and Cushman (1982) and Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) detail the varieties of ways in which

ethnographies may be produced. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, Chapter 9) state that ethnographic texts may be organized in five different ways:

- 1) around a theme (research topic);
- 2) as a "natural history" (the text parallels the process of discovery and exploration which occurred during fieldwork);
- 3) as a chronology of how the "actors" being studied developed;
- 4) narrowing and expanding the focus (from the particular to the general, or vice versa);
- and,
- 5) separating narration (the data/cultural description) and analysis.

Two examples of ethnographies, which could also be termed ethnologies as they are cross-cultural in research design, are briefly detailed. Brody uses alternate chapters to show perspectives from first the colonial interlopers, and then the indigenous people, for his reports on the Inuit of arctic Canada (1975), and on the Beaver Indians of northwestern British Columbia (1983). In both cases he lived with the indigenous peoples for a number of years, learning the Inuit language in the Arctic, and using a translator in British Columbia. Indigenous and modern ways of life were contrasted to highlight the effects of modernization on a traditional, tribal lifestyle and economy.

Brody described the negative stereotypes that "whites" had toward the Inuit (1975) and Beaver Indians (1983). These attitudes were maintained by the whites through their Western way of life, even though whites and Inuit lived alongside each other in small, remote communities in the Arctic. Through his research, Brody was gradually able to learn the "native" way of life from the inside, thereby reducing his own cultural stereotypes. He demonstrated that essential aspects of traditional ways of life persist in the face of cultural assimilation and economic dominance. Through the structure of his research design and the insights gained through his fieldwork, he was able to contrast the principle features of modern and indigenous peoples that were in conflict in his two study areas, thus enabling him to bring forward recommendations to reduce those conflicts.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 237) conclude that ethnography "generates descriptive accounts that are valuable in their own right, and that it also greatly facilitates the process of theory construction" (237). They believe that there is ecological validity in the



findings through contextual ties, and that "the diversity of data sources allows triangulation" (237). However, ethnography "cannot be used to study past events"; it is weak in comparison with the experiment "to discriminate among rival hypotheses"; and, "in contrast to the social survey, it is poor at dealing with large-scale cases" (237). It is, though, a good complement to phenomenology, providing the means both to explore the lifeworlds of other cultures and to get at the assumptions of one's own thoughts.

#### 5.4 Summary

Smith (1988) believes that qualitative research can reveal important findings about the social world, but cautions that the social support system of the researcher, his or her intellectual peers, is also at issue in such research:

The 'art' of qualitative research depends on a creativity sanctioned not only by what is given in the chaos of subjective encounter but also by what is assigned legitimacy by the social and professional worlds in which the analyst participates. (35).

The ontological positions of both phenomenologists and (reflexive) ethnographers is quite different from that of the majority of social researchers; and so, academic legitimacy is a concern.

Phenomenologists believe that a basic relationship of meaning between people and the world occurs through the prereflective holding of whatever they are considering in consciousness. Because of this intentionality, phenomenologists reject Cartesian dualism. In their epistemology, they focus on people's direct experience of the world as the source of knowledge, asserting that *a priori* theories and abstractions have no experiential foundation. Ethnographers are more concerned with accurately portraying the way of life of a foreign culture. Ethnography is theory-oriented when reflexivity is added, with theory being derived from field experience, reflection and an assessment of previous research.

The main goal of ethnographic and phenomenological styles of research is to find the essence of phenomena in people's experiences. Through direct contact with people (and through self-reflection on their own experience), researchers use reflection and intuition to detect consistent themes that are usually context bound. Phenomenologists try to minimize presuppositions during their research, viewing the phenomenon in such a way as to keep the integrity of its essence. Ethnographers notice what is "strange" about their research situation, thereby highlighting what culture members take for granted. Both methodologies thus enter

into the "subjective" realm of people's lives, keeping academic rigour in results through various means, and enabling a more thorough - and valid - investigation of the emotional realm of people's lives, such as sense of place.

The three main forms of phenomenological methodology are the eidetic reduction: the search for the essence of a phenomenon and its relationships through 'bracketing' (finding what is essential or intrinsic to it); hermeneutics: to uncover meaning in the interpretation of texts; and the dialectical critique: noting the relationship between opposite poles within a phenomenon. Phenomenological methodology can be based further upon personal reflection on phenomena; and may incorporate intersubjectivity to gain a dialogue among persons of the same social context; in-depth, qualitative descriptions of experiences from individuals and small groups of people; life histories of individuals (including the researcher); and personal observations of other's lifeworlds (as in participant observation). The selection of methods is based on the qualities of the phenomenon under study.

Specific phenomenological methods for fieldwork and interpretation are detailed by Giorgi (1975), Hycner (1985) and Korosec-Serfaty (1984). These have been reviewed because of their value to my own fieldwork. Both Hycner and Giorgi show how phenomenological data can be analyzed. The phenomenon is first "bracketed" to find its essence; units of general meaning are then found; themes are identified among these units; the themes are related to particular situations; a general structure becomes apparent; and finally the findings are checked with respondents (as a form of validity check).

Other forms of validation include the use of independent judges - trained in the use of the methodology - in the data analysis; checking the themes against the data as a whole; comparing findings with the researcher's own experience; and intersubjective corroboration among phenomenological researchers (Hycner, 1985; Pickles, 1985; Seamon, 1982).

Ethnography, traditionally derived from the ontology of naturalism, provides a more formal approach to gathering insights on a place and its people. In naturalism a researcher is invoked to study the social world "in its 'natural' state, undisturbed by the researcher", so that he or she "remains true to the nature of the phenomenon under study" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 6). In traditional ethnography, the researcher must learn the culture that he or she is studying "to understand the social meanings that inform it" (9). This methodology is

best applied to a culture in a foreign country, since the researcher's own cultural assumptions are then bared. The position of being a "stranger" is utilized as a means to note what is taken-for-granted by that culture. However, the researcher is still only supposed to describe the culture, turning it into an object of study (8).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) agree with most of this theoretical position, but balk at being only the observers of culture. They assert that this restricts a researcher unduly to a subject/object ontology, and does not provide a means of validation of research results. To resolve this dilemma, Hammersley and Atkinson use the principle of "reflexivity". This principle recognizes that researchers are part of the social world which they study, and that the researcher can reflect on the research experience while in the field, thereby giving a research perspective and a means of validation (15). Reflexivity is of most use to my research in the "self-conscious consideration of lifeworld", to examine "ways of living that are normally implicit, unquestioned, and taken-for-granted" (Seamon, 1984b, 169).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) also provide detailed material on methods of analysis. They review such aspects as the field role of the researcher; the selection of respondents (by representative sample or on theoretical grounds); styles of interviewing; how to take field notes (and whether tape-recordings should be done); and the use of different data sources. They caution against a researcher becoming totally "at home" in a field setting, as this reduces "one's critical, analytic perspective" (102).

Their analysis of data is similar to that done by phenomenologists, in that the data is first reviewed as a whole, enabling the identification of concepts and patterns (which are related to the research questions), and leading to emerging models (which can be related to theories). New typologies in the data are sought to inform theory development, with the theory tested through the "logic of comparison", and related directly to field experience, making it "well founded" and dynamic in character (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 24-25 and 202-203).

Because findings are derived from everyday settings, application of results to other similar settings has more validity. Other forms of validation may include feedback from respondents; intersubjectivity between respondents; the triangulation of different data sources; and scrutiny by other researchers. Questions must be properly devised to ensure validity.

Through my assessment of the methodologies described in this chapter, I have been able to make several decisions of relevance to my fieldwork. Of the ways to report ethnographic findings that Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) listed, thematic organization is preferred due to the topical nature of my study, with "narrowing and expanding the focus" on my topic useful at times as well. The ethnologies that I outlined by Brody (1975, 1983) also provide helpful guidelines for the research design and conduct of my fieldwork.

Survey methods are used in my research to establish whether trends exist across a sample or subsets of a sample. To reduce positivist ideology and have such analyses fit a phenomenological approach, several adaptations are made, both in survey methodology and in statistical analyses. In methodology, hypotheses are not set at the start of my research, since statistical analyses are only considered a possibility then, with fieldwork needed to see whether trends are apparent and whether field methods are successfully uncovering important aspects of the phenomenon.

In my statistical analyses, done following the fieldwork, descriptive statistics are used, tying analyses to the sample alone and the case study's context: as such, there is not a search for causal laws or prediction. Respondents are kept as "whole" as possible in analyses, through not abstracting only parts of their lives for study. Composite variables are used toward this end in analyses; respondents also identified certain variables as being important, thereby reducing their abstractive nature. Statistical analyses, based on individual differences, are put into context by qualitative material to show the meaning of the quantitative findings. Finally, an interpretative view of social reality, as opposed to a normative one (see Wilson, 1971), is used to guide my research design, fieldwork, and analyses.

Phenomenology is useful in searching for universal structures within a phenomenon, and heightens awareness of presuppositions and the need to be true to the character of the phenomena under study. However, it lacks a clear-cut method to get at the assumptions of one's own thought. Ethnographic methods provide such a perspective, and are most appropriate to use with a foreign culture. These methods are theory-oriented when reflexivity is added, and methods of analysis are similar to those of phenomenology. Social survey methods may show trends across a sample of respondents; because such methods are based only on questionnaire design and implementation, the methods of phenomenology and

ethnography give access to a more in-depth assessment of the social world. Methodologies such as oral history, self-reflection, video-taping, and group interviews permit further coverage of that world. Together these methodologies provide the bases of my research design for the Banks Peninsula case study.

This chapter concludes Part I of the dissertation. In Part II, I present the setting and research design, as background for the presentation of my case study results in Part III.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE NEW ZEALAND CONTEXT OF MY RESEARCH PROJECT

A review of the New Zealand setting provides insight into the context in which respondents' senses of place were formed. This review is based on the ethnography, the description of cultures and social groups, and includes material derived from academic sources and travel literature. Since I have added reflexivity to my ethnographic methodology, subjective reflections - from myself and others - are used to supplement more factual material on climate, history, demography and topography. Subjective impressions are useful in developing an understanding of New Zealanders' senses of place, and are derived from a variety of sources, including local and foreign print media; resident experts; and conversations with a cross-section of residents, foreign visitors and temporary (foreign) residents. Academic sources are used at times to supplement, and to help validate, these impressions.

All settings are multi-faceted in character, and may be viewed from different perspectives by residents and foreigners alike. An understanding of the New Zealand setting from many perspectives allows sense of place to be better understood, and places it in a geographical and cultural context. Frankenberg (1966), in his book entitled Communities in Britain, makes the point that a rural community cannot be studied in isolation; societal influences - especially economic - need to be considered, and behavioural trends across society should be identified. The material in this chapter relates to the larger, national context. The local context, concerning Banks Peninsula, is described in the next chapter, as the respondents' place setting is integral to a description of my research design. Links between the larger setting and results from the Banks Peninsula study are made in Chapters 10 and 11.

This chapter is divided up into a number of sections. It opens with a general introduction to the New Zealand setting, and is then followed by a detailed examination of

Maori traditional culture, based on tribal organization. A review of the contemporary New Zealand scene concludes the chapter.

### 6.1 New Zealand: An Introduction

New Zealand offers a great diversity of landscape within its boundaries. Three main islands, covering 269,057 square kilometers (about the size of Colorado), stretch from 34° South to 47° South latitude, over 1600 kilometers in length (Fig. 6-1). Australia, the nearest neighbour, is over 1600 kilometers distant. Two primary cultures have become established: a European-based one (pakeha), and an indigenous one (Maori). After over a millenia of residence in this far flung land, Maori have retained few formal links with the Polynesian islands of their origin. However, many pakeha still have strong ties with the United Kingdom - the origin of most migrants - even though New Zealand is at the antipodes of that island group.

The New Zealand land mass separated from the Australian continent about 80 million years ago, and is at present situated on one of the Earth's major fault lines. There are often severe earthquakes resulting from tectonic and volcanic activity; indeed, residents have dubbed their homeland the "shaky isles". Folding and uplifting created the impressive Southern Alps of the South Island. The climate is mostly temperate, with subtropical influences in the far north. Winds are often variable and strong, as New Zealand lies in the "roaring Forties" in latitude. No point in New Zealand is further than 125 kilometers from the sea, and the land is more crowded with sheep (70 million) than with people (3.3 million: Gawenda, Time Magazine, 1989).

The diversity of scenery in such a small country has brought over 800,000 international tourists to New Zealand annually in the late 1980s. Symbolism is also strong among "Kiwis", the colloquial term used to denote New Zealanders, taken from the name of the flightless bird indigenous to New Zealand. The highest peak, Mount Cook (or *Aoraki*) is 3764 meters, and is a national symbol for Maori and pakeha (see McLauchlan, 1985; O'Regan, 1987). Another symbol is the national flag, which bears the Union Jack of the United Kingdom in the top, left-hand corner, with the remainder of the flag a navy blue, upon which rest four red, white-bordered stars, to symbolize the Southern Cross, a prominent constellation in the night skies of the Southern Hemisphere.

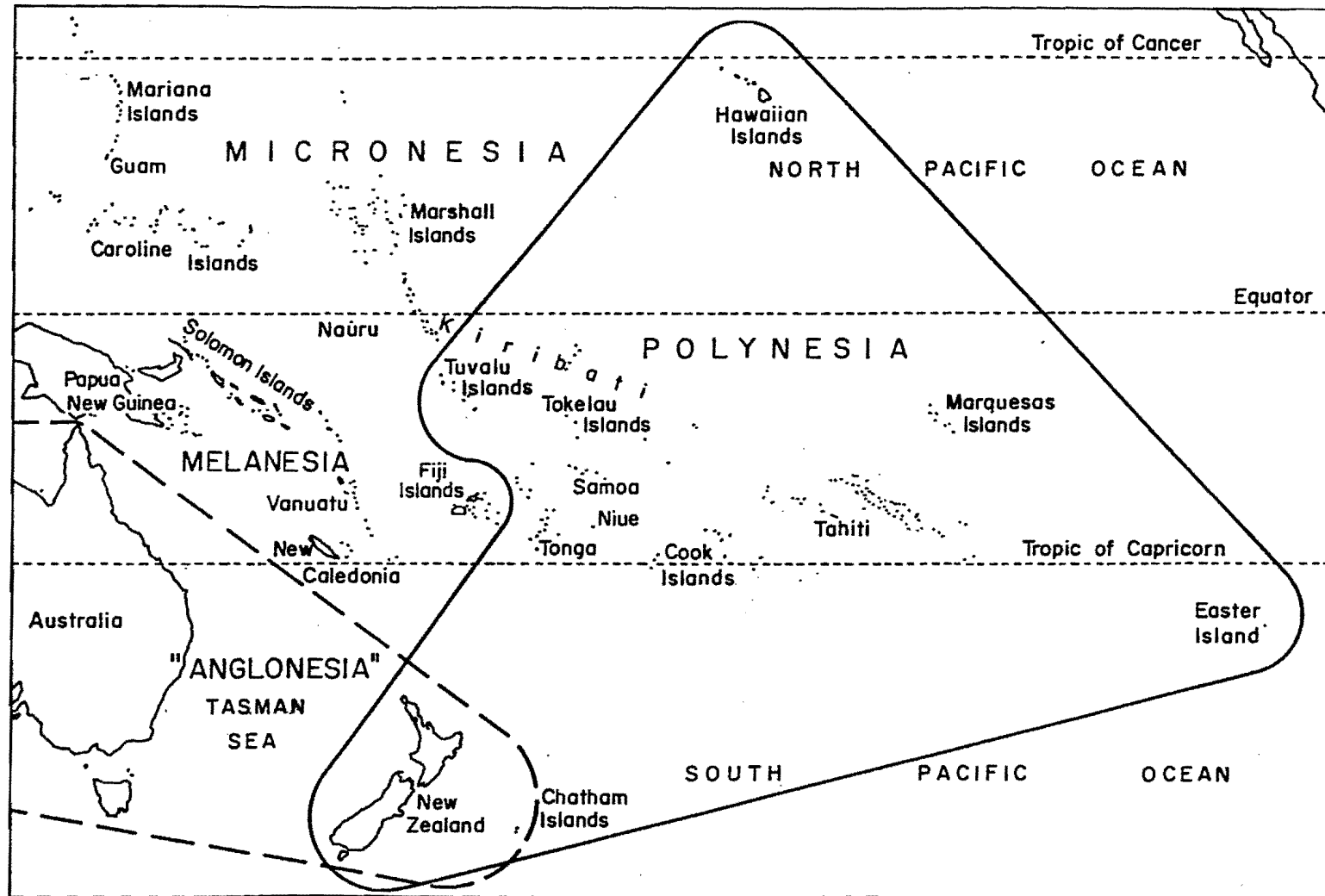


Figure 6-1: The South Pacific.



The national anthem is "God Defend New Zealand", with verses which speak of the country's beauty and its peoples' pride in their nation. Other symbols include the "All Black" uniform, worn by the New Zealand national rugby team of the same name, and by athletes in international competition (e.g. the Olympics and Commonwealth Games). Maori symbols which have gained prominence include the silver fern leaf, worn on sports costumes; the *koru*, a stylized curled fern, painted on the tail of Air New Zealand aircraft; and the *tiki*, a greenstone (jade) pendant carved to resemble a man. Because of such strong symbolism and the natural beauty of New Zealand, its inhabitants can understand why tourists come to this land: New Zealanders unashamedly call their nation "Godzone".

The islanders indigenous to New Zealand are Maori; many pakeha now have 6 or 7 generations of family heritage in this land, and feel that this is the country where they belong as well. Tribal status is still paramount to those Maori who are connected with their culture. The general term "Maori" will be used in this discussion, however, except when particular tribes are identified. Figure 6-2 shows both tribal territories and New Zealand place names.

Maori are in the minority in New Zealand, numbering approximately 10 per cent of the total population (this percentage varies, depending how ethnic origin is defined: see New Zealand 1986 census). Maori, however, have maintained their culture in the face of assimilation forces, racial discrimination and paternalism (see Awatere, 1984, 17-18; Ballara, 1986), and feel proud of their heritage: they do not act subservient as do some minority groups in other lands. Pacific Islanders who have migrated to New Zealand, primarily from other South Pacific (Polynesian) countries, are the third largest ethnic group, numbering close to 100,000 (1986 census).

Anthropologists have delineated three main groups of indigenous peoples in the Pacific, based on differences in physical form and cultures: Melanesian, Micronesian and Polynesian (Fig. 6-1). Within these broad groupings there are great differences - especially between the 800 tribes of Papua New Guinea - and strong similarities, as with the southwestern islands of Melanesia (Solomons, New Caledonia and Vanuatu). The Maori people of New Zealand came from eastern Polynesia; their language and culture is still close to that of Maori in the Cook Islands and French Polynesia. Fitzgerald (1988, 6) has written that "an abiding anchor for many, if not most (indigenous) Pacific Islanders, including migrants, has been a profound

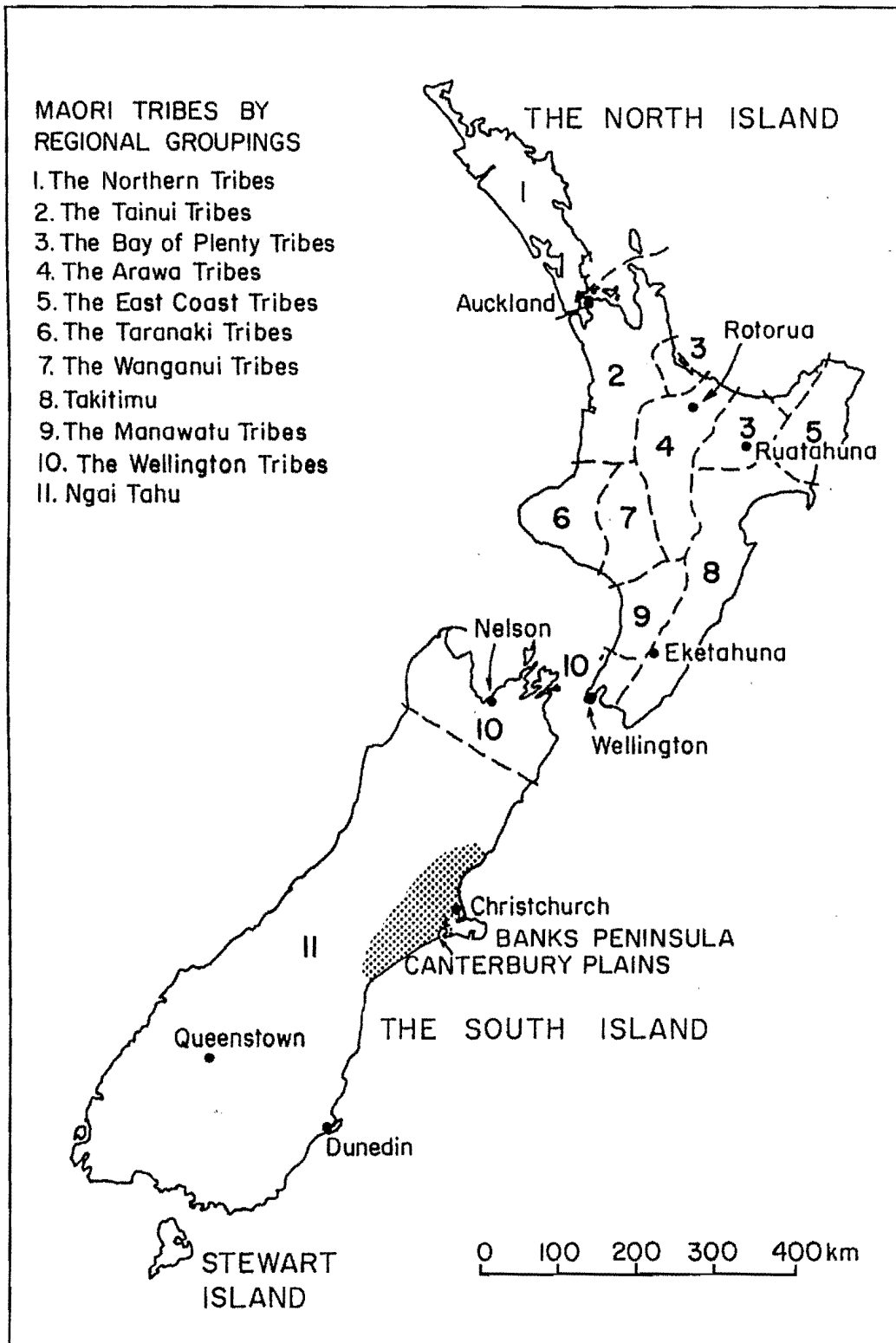


Figure 6-2: New Zealand

sense of land and place". Their cultural attachment to place may have been heightened both by the small size of many of their islands, and the threat to their land from warring parties.

There has been a great deal of colonial influence on the indigenous peoples of the Pacific islands (see Cameron, 1987). Recent Pacific Islander migration, both between the smaller islands and to Pacific rim cities (e.g. Auckland, Sydney and Los Angeles), has caused a profound change in their relationships with place. These changes are also felt by New Zealand Maori, as many now live overseas. Descendents of migrants who are born and raised out of their Island culture have often been found to identify more with their new land and culture than with the old, as with Cook Islanders born in New Zealand (Fitzgerald, 1988). Strong sentiments for island "homes" persist through family connections and the practice of culture. Polynesians born in New Zealand, but descended from recent migrants, however, are quite conscious that they are not the *tangata whenua* (people born of the land): this status resides only with native Maori people.

The first European sighting of New Zealand was by Abel Tasman, a Dutch explorer, in 1642. Captain Cook later circumnavigated and landed on its shores in 1769-70, returning again in 1776. Sealing and whaling stations were established in New Zealand from the 1790s, though this era was almost at a close by the 1830s (Grady, 1986). Europeans began their emigration to New Zealand from the British Isles in large numbers from the 1840s, coming primarily from England, but with many Scottish, Welsh and Irish migrants as well. The Scots tended to settle in the southern third of the South Island.

A substantial proportion of Maori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi with the British Crown in 1840, ceding sovereignty in return for the recognition of tribal authority over land and resources; through the Treaty they also became British subjects. Deeds to land were subsequently sold, although there were often misdealings by the Crown (see Yensen et al, 1989). The Treaty partnership allowed wholesale settlement to proceed. Maori tribes were often instrumental in keeping early pakeha settlers alive, supplying them with foodstuffs until they could do so themselves (Watson and Patterson, 1985).

When the tribes later realized that the Treaty had been used to pre-empt their tribal authority (see Murton, 1987, 98), and that much of their land was being "grabbed" without adequate recompense, they resisted with physical force. The result was the Land Wars of the

early 1860s, fought mostly in the central North Island. By the mid-1860s, however, European military forces and settler soldiers were sufficient to outnumber Maori substantially and conquer these tribal uprisings. Pakeha domination of Maori and the land has continued from that time, and was maintained by a rigid "whites only" immigration policy which favoured British migrants, until the mid-1970s (Awatere, 1984, 18).

Early pioneers intent on owning the land and making it "useful" denuded the tree cover both because it was threatening, and to make way for pastures. Roughly 80 per cent of the original forest is now gone as a result (Cumberland, 1981). Foreign plants and animals (e.g. gorse, Radiata pine, cocksfoot grass, sheep, rats, rabbits and deer) are everpresent where once tall forests stood (see Clark, 1949). Pollution now dirties rivers and harbours, and affects intertidal reefs, formerly the chief food source for Maori (Awatere, 1984, 19).

By the early 1900s, Maori had lost over half their population through disease (King, 1981a). As the survivors were attempting to recover from this loss, pakeha were forcing them to assimilate into a European lifestyle. This occurred when their spirituality was at a low ebb; Maori had met the challenge of Christianity, but with the loss of land to settlers, they felt diminished as a people (see Ballara, 1986). The land was the spiritual basis of their *mauri* (soul); without it they could not practise their traditional means of food gathering. Most of their tribal land had been lost: only five per cent is retained today (Asher and Naulls, 1987).

Reserves that had been left for Maori were in communal title; in small, disconnected parcels; and were often of poor quality, forcing Maori into a lower status and making them dependent on the European system (see Douglas, 1983). By the mid-1900s few Maori could speak their language, and many schools prohibited Maori children from speaking their native tongue (Walker, 1987). This was especially significant, as the Maori have an oral culture. Assimilation forces tended to increase after World War Two, when Maori joined the urban drift seeking employment. Approximately 80 per cent now live in cities, often distant from their rural *marae* (see next section for an explanation of this term). And yet, despite heavy mortality, dislocation from tribal heartlands, oppression and minimal land holdings, Maori culture has persisted.

The European settlers wanted to make New Zealand into a large farm for the United Kingdom, without its class structure. Pakeha New Zealanders were leaders in establishing

union rights, women's suffrage and the social benefit system. The system that was set up ensured that State welfare would protect the needy. Except for earlier worldwide depressions, such as that of the 1930s, the economy was vibrant until the late 1960s, with unemployment often negligible. The success of this system is reflected in the quiet, self-assured manner of Kiwis, and is shown by the political stability of New Zealand, the lack of ghettos, and the fact that most families have their own house in the suburbs.

New Zealand also became a Pacific power in its own right, dominating the economies of small islands from Tonga to the Cook Islands and north to the equator (see Bellam, 1980; Henderson et al, 1980; Ross, 1969). Western Samoa, the Cook Islands, and Niue were formerly New Zealand territories, only gaining independence since the 1960s. When Britain entered the European Economic Community (E.E.C.) in 1973, however, the market for New Zealand's farm goods was no longer assured. Combined with rising costs due to the O.P.E.C. oil crisis of that time, the standard of living dropped, and increased competition for foreign markets became necessary (see McLauchlan, 1985, 61).

Pakeha had questioned the solidity of New Zealand's ties with the U.K. during World War Two, when it was seen that the United States was more concerned with the Pacific region than was the U.K. Britain joining the E.E.C. in 1973 merely completed the weaning process. Marketing strategies changed, so that by 1987 only nine per cent of exports were directed to the U.K., whereas in the 1950s almost 60 per cent of exports had gone there (New Zealand Official Yearbook, or N.Z.O.Y.B., 1988-89, 724). Pakeha who used to look "home" to England began instead to assess their own sense of place for New Zealand, situating themselves in the South Pacific instead of next door to Europe (Wall, Metro, 1986). Although their culture was still British-based, their heritage was evident in many local customs and art forms. New Zealand literature in particular reflected the growing sense of place of pakeha (and mixed-race pakeha/Maori) in New Zealand (e.g. Hulme, 1985; Shadbolt, 1974). The search for their "white identity" paralleled the resurgence of Maori culture (Wall, 1986); this point is expanded further in the last section of the chapter.

While indigenous peoples have become integrated into mainstream New Zealand society over the past century, they have seldom reaped the same benefits as the dominant culture. An underclass of poor, uneducated Maori and Pacific Islanders has become

established in the large cities in recent years: the incidence of infant mortality, criminal offending, poor educational achievement, alcoholism and poverty is much higher among Polynesians than pakeha (Awatere, 1984; Wall, 1986). As a result, Maori have a shorter life expectancy by four to six years (males and females, respectively: N.Z.O.YB., 1988-89, 211). There are also fewer Maori in the 60-plus age group (four per cent of Maori population) than there are people in this age group in the New Zealand population as a whole (12 per cent of total: 1988-89, 140 and 208).

The revival of Maori culture has given hope for a more equitable share of the nation's resources, which was promised in the Treaty of Waitangi. However, this claim for more justice is coming at the same time that pakeha are facing increased economic and lifestyle pressures. The urban drift in New Zealand since World War Two has caused a change from a quiet, relaxed, rural "quality of life" emphasis to that of city life, similar to other industrialized countries: rushed, crowded and with social climbing all too pervasive. Northern Hemisphere stock exchanges and multi-national corporations have begun to influence the New Zealand economy heavily. The comfortable, conservative status quo is being assailed on many fronts. It seems that all is not well in Godzone, and Kiwis' natural confidence, their "she'll be right" attitude, has been shaken badly.

Many overseas influences are apparent in New Zealand, particularly from England and America. Religious holidays from the far side of the globe (e.g. Christmas and Easter) are celebrated; events from Western countries tend to dominate the international news; and consumer goods and fashions generally follow those from northern, English-speaking countries. Sentiments for "home" in England still persist among some pakeha, even after two or three generations; holidays in the United Kingdom are popular; sporting contests between New Zealand and the U.K. are followed avidly; and television shows from there are commonplace, although those from the United States are growing in number. In contrast, little is heard in New Zealand news about what is happening on the other side of the Tasman, although over 250,000 Kiwis have made Australia their permanent home (Gawenda, 1989). There is suspicion of the "lucky country" (Australia), and great rivalry occurs during major sports meetings.

Some qualities of the New Zealand character remain much unchanged, despite the effects of the 1980s on the Kiwi way of life. In this respect, there are many societal traits which are cross-cultural among New Zealanders. National fervour concerning competitive sports continues unabated: rugby, cricket, horse racing, netball and track events are well-supported. Indeed, rugby is called the nation's "religion", and all New Zealand males are supposed to follow the fortunes of their national rugby team, the "All Blacks". Except for sports, most Kiwis have a relaxed attitude toward life, especially noticeable when the whole country seems to shut down for a month over the Christmas/New Year holidays. They believe in giving people a "fair go", and are most hospitable to strangers. Kiwis have a fierce pride in their country, shown by their participation in the two World Wars; in Kiwis returning "home" to live after their "overseas experience"; in their distinction in international sports; and in the many superlatives that they use to describe the qualities of New Zealand.

Some other important attributes which may affect New Zealanders' senses of place warrant mention. There is still a separation of the sexes in New Zealand, similar to that of Australia, with "mateship" between men of high importance (King, 1988b; Phillips, 1987); feminism is only recently gaining ground. The macho male is still much in evidence: boorish behaviour is commonplace when beer consumption is high (see Parker, North and South, 1988). Among many adolescent males an egocentric nature is particularly visible, even when compared with North Americans, of whom I am familiar. They seem to believe that the world should revolve around them; their inconsiderate behaviour toward others is in contrast to the sensitivity of most Kiwis.

Although it is somewhat of a cultural stereotype, several travel writers, tourists I have talked with, and myself have all noticed that Maori are a very easygoing people, similar to other Polynesians in that regard. Their laughter rings out often during get-togethers with extended families and friends, whether on their *marae* or at a neighbourhood *hangi* (feast). They host new people happily, giving both food and pleasant company as a display of their warm spirit and *aroha* (love, in its widest sense). Outdoor recreation and tourist-style holidays are not as popular as social activities (see Lomax, 1988), with music, singing and games all enjoyed to the fullest. Often there is a suspension of time during such gatherings, enhancing the focus on the gathering itself rather than on when it will end.

Maori have a warrior heritage, too, and have shown this side of their nature during fierce competition in team sports and through their valour in both World Wars. Among Maori, co-operation is more common than competition based on individualism, due to their group identity. On the other hand pakeha are very individualistic and competitive, and generally show their emotions less (see Hohepa, 1978; McLauchlan, 1976, The Passionless People): as with Maori, aggression is sometimes apparent (e.g. in pubs or when driving their cars), but positive feelings are usually muted among pakeha, especially among older, rural men. This reticence has made field studies of sense of place in a rural locale all the more difficult.

The conforming behaviour of pakeha in their (fairly) classless society is well-established; people are not supposed to stand out and be "different", or to confront people or issues "publicly". Maori have similar characteristics, not wanting to stand out as individuals in their group, and giving way to elders to voice considered opinions. A common trait among New Zealanders in general is much defensiveness against foreign opinions: New Zealanders may be insular and parochial, have a practical disposition, and be resistant to social and place change, but they resent hearing this from "outsiders". However, due to their isolation New Zealanders have also become a more inventive, adaptable, and self-reliant people.

At times it seems that all of New Zealand behaves like a small town: one can easily meet people that one knows, or talk with others and learn of mutual friends. This was a surprise to me, coming from urban North America, where anonymity is the rule. Perhaps when one considers the size of population that resides within a few relatively small, remote islands, such closeness is not so astonishing. The negative side of this phenomenon is that sometimes it seems that everyone knows everyone else's business.

New Zealand may be "behind the times" in some respects and has its share of national problems, but these attributes are of less consequence when compared to difficulties of pollution, crowding and civil unrest experienced by nations across the seas. Kiwis' resilience, ingenuity and hospitality shine through in times of adversity, showing their national and tribal pride and the value that both cultures assign to their place. A study of their sense of place thus seems called for, although practical Kiwis often wondered at the relevance of such a study when I spoke with them.



## 6.2 The Maori of Aotearoa

Maori are prone to proclaiming that they are the original people, the *tangata whenua*, of *Aotearoa*, the land of the long white cloud (New Zealand). Some pakeha, however, would dispute that the Maori culture is still intact, yet such pakeha are often the same people who live in ignorance of other cultures. Few Maori people live in their tribal heartlands now, as they have joined the urban drift of population; the majority are also not fluent in their language. The New Zealand Official Yearbook (1988-89, 217) presents a recent estimate that 50,000 Maori are fluent, with a further 50,000 able to understand Maori.



Photo 6-1: Maori *whare whakairo* at Ohinemutu *marae*, Rotorua.

Traditional customs are practised by a growing number of Maori, though, especially through return visits to rural *marae* (see Walker, 1987). *Marae* may be defined as the open area in the centre of the village complex (the *te marae a tumatauenga*, or battle ground for verbal encounters), in front of the *whare whakairo* (carved meeting house: see Photo 6-1), or as the complex of buildings surrounding the carved meeting house (Murton, 1987, 110). For anyone

who has been with Maori tribespeople on a *marae* for longer than a few hours, there is no doubt that Maori have retained the essence of their culture. For a better understanding of traditions which are pan-tribal in nature, Maori cosmology, settlement pattern, ties to the land and to the *marae*, and *marae* customs will each be presented in turn, although these aspects are interwoven in Maori tradition.

The term "living planet" could be used to describe Maori cosmology. Murton (1987, 94) states that: "All forms of life were related, for all were descending from *Rangi*, the sky, and *Papa*, the earth. [Maori] People's relationship to other living things and to the world itself was expressed and explained in the form of a *whakapapa*, a genealogy." Maori believe in a spiritual essence (*wairua*) in all things, animate and inanimate. People are seen as only one small part of a "great chain of being", and not of any greater importance. Respect for the spirits in things, conveyed through religious chants (*karakia*), and reverence for certain paramount gods (*atua*) is woven into the fabric of their lives, in rituals, thoughts and in perceptual style. The *atua* are considered a family, representing all aspects of the environment (see Fig. 6-3).

Maori have an account of the origin of the world that rivals Genesis in detail (see Alpers, 1962; Lewis and Forman, 1985; Marsden, 1981; Yoon, 1986). There are several variations on the story of creation in Maori folklore. Gray (1988a), of Irakehu Ngai Tahu descent, and Lewis, an anthropologist, relate the universally held version. The supreme being, *Io*, dwelt in *Hawaiki*, home of the gods (a mythical land toward the rising sun from New Zealand, not Hawaii: Orbell, 1985, 104). There was first the "nothingness" (*Te Kore*); then, out of the "womb of darkness" came *Te Ata* (the dawn: Lewis and Foreman, 1985, 11). *Io* allowed *Rangi-e-tu-hei* (father sky), to form the heavens. *Rangi* then united with *Papa-tua-nuku* (mother earth) and had a son, *Tane-mahuta*. They had five more sons (see Fig. 6-3), but all sons were "stifled in darkness", as the father sky was pressing down upon mother earth (Lewis and Foreman, 11).

Using *mana* (personal power and prestige) derived from *Io*, *Tane* forced his parents apart to form heaven and earth, although this was opposed by *Tawhiri-matea*, god of the winds. After the parting *Tawhiri* took revenge by lashing the forests and oceans with strong

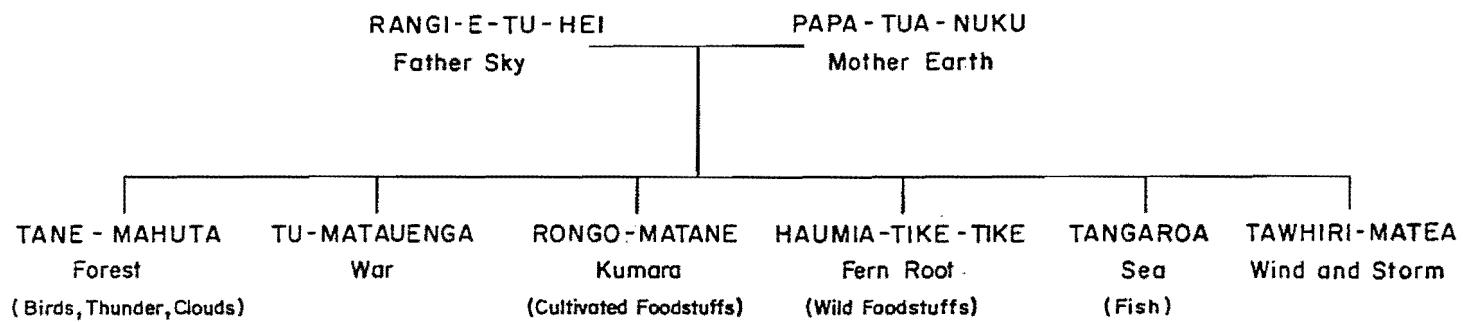


Figure 6-3: The environment as family in Maori cosmology.

(after Yoon, 1986, 32)

gales; Lewis states that this "drove *Rongo* and *Haumia*, the gods of cultivated and uncultivated root crops, underground" (Lewis and Foreman, 1985, 12). Lewis relates how *Tane*:

placed four poles as props, the names of which are the four winds. In order to illuminate the world he sought for the Children of Light in *Te Ikaroa*, the Milky Way, and set them in the breast of *Rangi*, where they are still to be seen. They are the sun, moon, and stars, the stars being known as 'little suns', which are forever under the care of their elders, the sun and moon. So now light flooded in . . . (12).

*Tane* then set about creating the forests, birds, thunder, lightning and clouds. Gray (1988a) next describes how people were created by *Tane*:

In *Tane*'s quest to find the female element (*uha*) needed for the creation of a human-mortal-woman, he has to go back to mother earth. In order for his earth-formed creation to have life, he has to obtain the spiritual essence. This spiritual essence (physical life principle) would give human kind dominion (*mana*) in the natural experienced world. This was the *mauri-ora* (life-principle) obtained from the Supreme Being. *Tane* breathed the breath of life through the nostrils of *Hine-ahu-one* (breathed on soil maiden) and his creation was brought to life. It is from *Tane* and *Hine-ahu-one* that all human life is derived.

And so, people were derived from the union of the god, *Tane*, and the earth-maiden, *Hine-ahu-one*. *Tane* also mated with their daughter, *Hine-titama* (the dawn maiden) to perpetuate the human race (Lewis, 12). Maori are thus the children of *Tane*, with the land, especially the forests, their natural home (Lewis and Forman, 1985). Gray (1988b) notes that a more literal translation of *tangata whenua* would read: "people born out of the placenta of mother earth".

Maori cosmology fosters "a view of the world which recognized the sacredness of other life forms and the landscape itself"; through "a fellow-feeling for the life forms and other entities that surrounded them", which sees "a kinship between all things" (Murton, 1987, 107). Metge states that "in the Maori view, physical and spiritual reality, Man and God, the world of Men and the spiritual realms of *Te Rangi* (the world of light) and *Te Po* (the underworld) are irrevocably linked in a web of reciprocal relationships in a single cosmic system" (in Murton, 107).

Within Maori tribes, people are related to the gods through important ancestors (*tipuna*). Spirits of these ancestors are felt to be present at all times. During *whai-korero* (speeches) by *kaumatua* (tribal elders) on the *marae*, ancestors are often referred to; a *kaumatua*'s tribal ranking and *mana* is derived from connections to the gods through ancestral lineage. Murton tells us how myths and history are related in Maori culture:

. . . the main characteristics of human beings are established and represented by the sky, the earth and the fertility of living things upon the earth. The ancestors who followed are men and women, still mythical, with most of their exploits taking place in

*Hawaiki*. These are followed by ancestors who make the voyage from *Hawaiki* to *Aotearoa*, preparing the way for human beings and founding tribes. Gradually the names in the *whakapapa* became legendary rather than mythical, and finally the realm of ascertainable history is arrived at. (94).

Famous stories are that of Maui, a mythical ancestor, who fished the North Island out of the sea (see Lewis and Forman, 1985, 38; Orbell, 1985, 99), and the legend of the creation of the Southern Alps, said by the Waitaha tribe to have been formed by the capsizing of the Araiteuru canoe, whose members were then turned to stone (see Orbell, 1985, 109-111). Detailed tribal *whakapapa* which go back in time to the discovery of *Aotearoa* by Kupe (in about A.D. 925: Lewis and Foreman, 1985, 20) and mythology thus link Maori people to both ancestors and to their creation stories. Some northern tribes, however, believe that "their ancestors had lived here always" (Orbell, 1985, 101-104).

Stories recounting tribal heritage are skilfully told by consummate tribal orators, who connect their stories to signs of nature, carvings and named localities. In this way place names and carvings help to tell the history of a tribe (Mead, 1988). Unique topography was given important tribal status; names of ancestors (mythical or otherwise) were often assigned to these features. Yoon (1986, 57) notes that: "A chief was sacred, and his head was especially so . . . it was considered quite respectable to compare a chief's head with a sacred mountain." *Aoraki* (Mt. Cook), the highest mountain in the South Island of New Zealand, is an important symbol of the *Ngai Tahu* tribe, as O'Regan, a *Ngai Tahu kaumatua*, relates:

*Aoraki* is not just a mountain. *Aoraki* is also an *atua*. In the *whakapapa* that *Ngai Tahu* inherit from the *Waitaha* people, who first settled *Te Waipounamu* (The Water of Greenstone: the South Island), *Aoraki* is the first born son of *Ranginui*, or *Rangi*, the Sky Parent of creation. (1987).

Some researchers still regard Maori myths and dates/details of arrival as fanciful (Murton, 1987, 100), but these "myths" are a means to understand cultural values (107), maintained through rituals. An example is practises which ensure that the food supply is protected from undue exploitation, through a conservation ethic (Gray, 1988a; see also Murton, 1987, 108, and Orbell, 1985). Many tribal genealogies are remarkably detailed in linking members back to the arrival of the original seven canoes in the Bay of Plenty, New Zealand, from eastern Polynesia at about A.D. 1350, probably coming from the southern Cook Islands or the Society Islands (Lewis and Forman, 1985, 20). These canoes formed the basis of the first tribes: *Tainui*, *Te Arawa*, *Aotea*, *Tokomaru*, *Takitimu*, *Kurahaupo* and *Matatua*.

Recent archaeological evidence has also supported much of Maori folklore. Initial Maori settlement has been dated at between A.D. 750 and 1000 (Lewis and Forman, 1985, 20), similar to the arrival date given for Kupe. This research has identified a "Moa Hunter" (or Archaic phase) of Maori culture from first settlement to about A.D. 1300. Several species of moa were hunted extensively at that time, especially in the eastern plains of the South Island. There were fewer Maori then, and they were more nomadic, following the seasonal availability of foodstuffs. By the close of the Archaic phase, the moa had been decimated both by Maori, who burned the forests to flush them out, and by a gradual warming of the climate, which changed the habitat preferred by moa (Lewis and Forman, 1985).

Settlement beyond that time was labelled the Classic phase, identified primarily by extensive agricultural cultivation of *kumara*, a type of sweet potato, as far south as Banks Peninsula, and also of *aruhe*, or fern root; population growth, to 150,000 overall by A.D. 1800, with 80,000 in the northern half of the North Island (Murton, 1987, 97; Orbell, 1985, 13); elaborate carving, often using *pounamu* (greenstone), traded from the South Island (Brailsford, 1984); and the building of *pa* (fortified villages) for protection from raiding war parties (Lewis and Forman, 1985, 24-30).

The Classic phase was the era when distinctive New Zealand customs and artefacts were established by Maori. By the time of European contact over 40 tribes had developed from those of the original seven canoes (see Fig. 6-2 in the preceding section). Carving styles, dialects, and *kawa* (*marae* protocol) differed greatly between tribes. Ancestry was important, with genealogy which linked a person back to the original canoes necessary in the establishment of rank in the chiefly line (*rangatira*). *Waiata* (songs) to commemorate those earlier times are often sung.

However, the numerous tribes had become fiercely independent. The warring phase of Maori history began, and was especially prevalent for the two centuries preceding the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1769 (Brailsford, 1981). The availability of plenty of wood in New Zealand allowed the erection of pallisade walls surrounding village complexes for defence during this period. War parties raided for *kumara* stores, *pounamu* from the South Island (which had been worked into weapons, tools and ornaments), and slaves; occasionally whole

tribes were annihilated. Raids were sometimes made to satisfy *utu* (revenge), in order to re-establish a tribe's *mana*.

Gray (1988b) notes that exercising *mana* is only possible if a person is in the service of both gods and tribe (see also Marsden, 1981). The *mana* of chiefs was preserved in the past not only through wars, but also through the hosting of visitors on a *marae*; their *mana* was kept intact after death too, through burial rites, with their remains hidden in caves and the sites pronounced *tapu* (sacred: Yoon, 1986, 80-83). Because of the ready availability of foodstuffs in New Zealand and lack of confines compared to the smaller South Pacific islands from which Maori had come, warriors were more independent from their chiefs' authority. And so, chiefs had to convince their warriors to go into battle through powerful oratory, often lasting for many hours. This tradition of oratorical ability continues through to the present among *kaumatua*.

Murton (1987, 93 and 96) notes that Maori claimed land by naming it, and that the retention of Maori names to the present in New Zealand reflects the past distribution and densities of Maori. Yoon (1986, 112-117) has charted these names, showing three cultural regions for present-day New Zealand. Most of the South Island is dominated by European names; the landing area of the seven canoes (and adjacent region) is dominated by Maori ones; and the remainder has a mix of the two, with Maori names predominant.

Distinctive geographical landmarks are used as symbols of a tribe and to demarcate tribal territory. Tribal land is paramount in Maori cosmology, probably due to their origins in eastern Polynesia, where available land for food gathering and cultivation was at a premium.

In Maori consciousness land was part of themselves, it was mother and an ancestor and was viewed as an integral part of their personal and group identity. At the same time it was the primary resource in their subsistence economy . . . land gave a sense of identity and purpose and was at the root of the concept of territory. (Murton, 1987, 91).

The reason for this is explained in two quotations, the first by Yoon and the second by Douglas:

According to Maori myths and proverbs, land is the original mother who gives birth and sustains life. Land was considered a mystic being, a dear one who both loves and supports. To the Maori people, the land has special meanings and strong emotional ties . . . the Maori treats land as a living entity. (1986, 57).

Land is seen as the source of tribal and individual identity. Without land, and a place to express that identification, a person is cut adrift. He/she has no past, no present and no future. Land is the cohesive force of the tribe. (1983, 2).

Yoon (1986) adds that:

The Maori tribes had clear boundaries between their territories, and rivers and hills often served as natural boundaries. To the Maori people, land meant virtually everything; boundary disputes often led to warfare. (58).

However, Murton relates that: "Maori tribes and subtribes did not actively cultivate or use all the land of their territories, although to maintain a claim to it they had to live on it every so often." (Murton, 1987, 96).

Within the region that each tribe (*iwi*) inhabits exist several sub-tribes (*hapu*); a *hapu* consists of many inter-related, extended families (*whanau*), located in several villages, with one or more *whanau* occupying each village site. At the centre of a village site is a *whare whakairo*; which is also used for sleeping when hosting guests. Carved designs visible on its exterior are of symbolic importance to the *hapu* (see Photo 6-1). In many villages an adjacent building, the *whare kai*, is used for dining. At the apex of the front of the *whare whakairo* is placed a representation of a prominent ancestor. Members of an *iwi* trace their genealogy to a common ancestor, and to the canoe which transported that ancestor from the islands to *Aotearoa*.

Maori identity arises from the *marae* (see Walker, 1981). The *whare whakairo* is the centre of a village's universe; it usually faces seaward, and is protected by hills at the back (Murton, 1987). It is situated in the centre of the village, and is symbolically designed to resemble the body of an ancestor, who provides shelter for descendants (Murton, 105). The apex at the front is the face, window the eye, frontispieces the arms, rafters the ribs, ridgepole the backbone and centre post the heart. Traditional carvings normally cover (or surround) each of these features, as they are sacred (*tapu*), while other features are merely common (*noa*: Murton, 105). Speeches by elders are made in front of the *whare whakairo* (on the *paepae*, in front of the building), while meetings (*hui*) and funerals (*tangi*) are primarily conducted inside, surrounded by carvings on wall support beams which may represent several ancestors and tribal legends.

The *marae* is the home ground (*papa kainga*) of the village; its carvings and traditions are a *hapu*'s symbols of pride (see Yoon, 1986, 73-74). During *hui* items of tribal importance are discussed among all members (see Salmond, 1975). Time is relatively unimportant, and decision-making is reached by consensus (Stokes, 1988, 120). *Kai* (food) is plentiful, as is



the *aroha* spirit. Tribal rituals are practised by young and old alike, often to the accompaniment of wailing babies and the interruptions of playing children. It is during the typical *hui* that the Maori culture resonates with the strength of ancestors and *whanau*, uniting past and present (as in *whanaungatanga*, family togetherness and communal contribution: Murton, 1987, 108). Maori cosmology thus takes both the origin of the world and their relationship with nature and draws these into their relationship with place, as centered on the *marae*. Carvings and place names reinforce these beliefs, while rituals celebrate and instill them.

Knowledge of these beliefs is passed both informally through stories and rituals, and formally through the practice of *kawa* (see Tauroa and Tauroa, 1986); the learning of *whakapapa*; and the recitation of *karakia*. Only selected tribespeople (usually men) learn through the latter two processes, under instruction by *kaumatua* (Murton, 1987, 108). Both forms of learning last for a lifetime; *kaumatua* are entrusted with passing on their tribe's wisdom in this manner. Learning is taken seriously, and an attitude of respect is essential in the initiate (see Foreword to King, 1981b).

*Tohunga*, or the spiritual leader of a tribe, similar to the medicine man of North American native Indians, is responsible for ensuring that correct procedures are followed for important events (e.g. the felling of a tree for making a canoe), reciting appropriate *karakia* to appease the gods (Gray, 1988a). *Kaitiaki*, guardians of land and resources, serve a similar purpose (Stokes, 1987, 120). Thus, the *mauri* (soul) of the people is preserved through their concern for rightful actions.

Relations between tribes are governed by a different protocol. Among Maori a strong suspicion of outsiders (and pride in one's own tribe) gave rise to the development of the *powhiri* (greeting) ceremony, used to separate friend from foe. In this ceremony visitors (*manuhiri*) are first challenged (*wero*) at some distance from the *marae* by one or two warriors; at the same time, a war chant (*haka*) is performed by the men of the *hapu* in front of the *marae* to show the tribe's strength. If the visitors are proven to have friendly intentions, a *karanga* (call to the ancestors) is performed by elder women (*kuia*). Visitors then approach the *paepae*, and elders from both sides give *whai-korero* (speeches), supported by *waiata* following each speech. Afterwards, all of the *tangata whenua* touch noses (*hongī*) with the visitors to meld spirits, enabling the two groups to then *mihi* (exchange greetings). Once *kai* has been eaten by

all to solidify this exchange and show the host's generosity and warmth, the *tangata whenua* can then relate to the guests as insiders (see also Murton, 1987; Stokes, 1987). Such formal exchanges maintained reciprocal relations between friendly tribes; neighbouring tribes could become allies through the continued display of this *aroha* spirit.

As a consequence of their myths, rituals and ancestry, Maori feel strongly that the *marae* is their "place to stand" (*turangawaewae*); there they feel a great sense of personal belonging, due both to the aforementioned symbolism and because their placenta (*whenua*) is buried on the *marae*'s grounds, though this is seldom done today. Murton (1987, 104) notes that: "The *mauri*, the soul or life force of the community, is placed in the meeting house. The *marae* is sacred ground, therefore, and a place where Maori language and custom prevail".

The contemporary scene in New Zealand is definitely much changed among Maori, with at least 80 per cent now residing in urban areas. Many have lost their tribal knowledge of *tikanga-Maori* (Maori customs) and *te reo-Maori* (Maori language); others have inter-married with pakeha (and with other tribes), making their genealogy uncertain in a Maori, tribal sense. Maori culture has been eroded by cultural assimilation, especially through participation in the labour force; Christian religion; the education system; the forced use of English; and the attraction of modern conveniences and consumer goods (see King, 1981a; Walker, 1987).

*Kaumatua* widely believe that Maori who are not connected to their culture and *turangawaewae* have lost their *mauri*. They are not rooted in tribal lands or to their *whanau*. Urban Maori without tribal ties have gained some benefits from a modern lifestyle, but many have become casualties of the modern system. They suffer the effects of ill-health, are beset by unemployment, and often turn to crime. The result among many modernized Maori is alienation and a feeling of emptiness inside (see Awatere, 1984). These people often feel that they have become second-class citizens in their own land, the "brown pakeha" who are not connected to either culture. They can no longer call themselves *tangata whenua* with honour, and are only Maori in racial characteristics.

However, many Maori have increasingly begun to reacquaint themselves with their traditional culture (see Ballara, 1986; Walker, 1987). Such Maori are welcomed by *kaumatua*, who encourage them to develop ties to a home *marae*. Murton (1987) notes that:

On the *marae* Maori people acquire a sense of belonging, identity and self-esteem. Most urban Maori still feel the need to return home periodically and may hope eventually to retire to an ancestral *marae*. (105).

He also stresses that: "Maori cultural survival does indeed depend upon their survival as land holders and upon the survival of the *marae*" (97).

Murton (1987) concludes that Maori "society derives meaning from place, place is defined in terms of social relationships, and the individuals . . . are not alienated from the land" (108). It is the holistic quality and depth of Maori cosmology which has enabled Maori to continue their strong relationship with land (and with place), despite the efforts of colonial powers to take their land and to assimilate their culture. Their traditions are still strong, maintained by rituals on *marae* throughout New Zealand. A renaissance of Maori culture has occurred in the past decade, with several land claims lodged recently to the Waitangi Tribunal. These aspects of *tikanga-Maori* will be reviewed in the next section, which covers the contemporary New Zealand scene.

### 6.3 The Contemporary New Zealand Scene

The stirrings of the Maori people have tended to remind the pakeha of their Pacific position on the globe. Until only recently pakeha have longed for their British "home", feeling somewhat displaced as a people. In contrast, the Maori do not express feelings of "isolation" in the South Pacific, and they are not "searching" for a national identity. In response to the strength of Maori cultural identity, Michael King, a historian, wrote the book Being Pakeha (1988a), in which he attempted to consolidate his own cultural heritage in New Zealand. To foreign tourists, though, the most apparent quality of both Australia and New Zealand remains European: a travel writer has called these nations "Anglonesia" (see Fig. 6-1), because of that character (Stanley, 1986, in the South Pacific Handbook).

The Maori people sometimes use a satirical phrase to describe the pakeha "overstayers" in their land: they refer to *Aotearoa* as "the land of the wrong white crowd" instead of "the land of the long white cloud". Maori perhaps have cause for such feelings. They have witnessed the ravaging of both *Papa-tua-nuku* and their culture in *Aotearoa* on a colossal scale at the hands of pakeha settlers. In the past 15 years, Maori culture has been rejuvenated, beginning with land marches to regain their spiritual source, and culminating with the submission of multiple land claims to the Waitangi Tribunal, based on the Treaty of Waitangi.

There are now many Maori learning their language again at pre-school, school and tertiary levels, and *hui* are often held to pass cultural knowledge from *kaumatua* to younger tribal members. The demographic profiles of Maori and Pacific Islanders indicates that their share of New Zealand's population will double in the next two to three decades, as 39 per cent of Maori are under age 15, versus 24 per cent for New Zealand as a whole (N.Z.O.Y.B., 1988-89, 208). Maoridom is increasing its political and economic clout in many ways, and is united as never before, with strength drawn from each tribe's heritage.

This re-assertion of the importance of Maori culture has not been welcomed by all pakeha: many see it as a threat to their way of life (Ballara, 1986). The revival has been strongest during the time of the Labour Government's terms of office (since 1984), partially due to that Government's 1985 legislation which allowed Maori grievances to be heard back to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The biggest land claim was launched in 1987 by the Ngai Tahu tribe, covering over two-thirds of the South Island. The Ngai Tahu seek Crown lands and cash as recompense for past wrongdoings. The hearings for that claim took over two years to complete; the recommendations of the Waitangi Tribunal to the Government will coincide with the nation's 1990 commemoration ceremonies to mark 150 years of treaty partnership between its two principal peoples.

With better communications, New Zealanders have become more aware of their problems in relation to the rest of the world, and that they were falling further "behind" in some economic indicators. From the mid-1980s onward New Zealanders have experienced record Government deficits, inflation and unemployment levels. And so, the pressure for Maori justice is added to these other factors, resulting in a white "backlash". Pakeha see motorcycle gangs (e.g. the Mongrel Mob and Black Power) with predominantly young adult Maori membership; they endure increased lawlessness; and they note that most Maori are urbanized and modernized, and that many have inter-married with pakeha (see Walker, 1979). And so, these pakeha wonder why Maori should be complaining about wrongdoings from over a century ago.

Resentment against Maori land claims probably arises because of mis-understanding at a cultural level, and is part of an inherent paternalism in pakeha attitudes (see Nairn, 1989). That the current Labour Government is attempting to sort out over a century and a half of

misdealings with Maori, and is doing this in the face of public (i.e. pakeha) anxiety, shows great political fortitude and vision.

The racial unrest caused by land claims and the revival of Maori culture is similar to that happening elsewhere in the "new lands", where colonial powers usurped the lands of indigenous peoples (e.g. in Canada, the United States, and Australia). However, those countries are presently in a stronger economic position from which to address such issues. There is a growing resentment among New Zealanders in general that an economic recession, caused primarily by Labour Government intervention in the economy, is occurring at the same time as these other nations have been experiencing economic growth.

New Zealand put itself on the world map in 1985 through its anti-nuclear stance, barring warships from entering its waters unless they declared themselves clear of nuclear armaments. Relations with the United States have been strained ever since (Gawenda, 1989): the United States and Australia have withheld inviting New Zealand to defence training exercises and have lessened the sharing of sensitive information, despite the fact that New Zealand is still formally part of the A.N.Z.U.S. treaty alliance. Many New Zealanders would rather see a bold government policy which dealt with their economic woes without causing more pain, than anti-nuclear grand-standing or pandering to Maori activists.

And so, there is resentment and hostility that New Zealanders must suffer increased stress and inconvenience from several fronts. These include rising crime and unemployment (to 12 per cent nationally in late 1989); a new general services tax of 12.5 per cent, only partially offset by lower personal income tax rates; a devalued dollar internationally; reduction in government services, especially to rural areas; the selling of State assets to private (often overseas) interests; removal of farm subsidies; increased prices for most consumer goods; restructuring of government, both in line departments, many of which were corporatized, and in local government, which has recently undergone the forced amalgamation of small districts; and diplomatic snubs from the United States.

The comfortable way of life "down under" is being assaulted on all sides: opportunities are no longer everpresent, and New Zealanders, particularly young, skilled pakeha, are fleeing Godzone to live in Australia in increasing numbers as a result (Gawenda, 1989). This "brain drain" is aided by the open borders between Australia and New Zealand regarding residency

and work. At times in the past Aussies came to New Zealand for opportunity, and many emigrant Kiwis may yet return to their "home" if the economic and social climate improves. The migration path for New Zealanders over the past five years, however, has mostly been one-way: outwards to other nations.

Nevertheless, the economic change occurring in New Zealand has been said by many local commentators to have been long overdue: New Zealanders were living in a "fool's paradise" of high wages, low productivity and narrow market strategies at a time when other industrialized peoples were becoming more competitive. New Zealand could no longer remain isolated in a world of better transportation and communications. The changes wrought by the Government have created a more realistic climate in wage negotiations, with inflation in 1989 averaging six per cent compared with triple that figure two years previous. The social atmosphere is also changing, with Maori culture now more accepted in schools, government departments and industry. There is even a shift toward multi-cultural attitudes, even in immigration policy. The monocultural dominance of European values is gradually fading, and a more equitable system is becoming established.

The economic changes that have been wrought lately have often been at the expense of farmers, as they had been over-protected and subsidized in the past. The urban drift of population from World War Two onwards saw a shift away from a rural lifestyle and farming, toward city dwelling and a diversity of enterprises. Most New Zealanders now live in cities, with 75 per cent in centres of more than 10,000 people, and 68 per cent in centres of 30,000 plus (N.Z.O.Y.B., 1988-89, 149). Three-quarters of the population now lives in the North Island; and almost one-third the entire population resides in greater Auckland (New Zealand 1986 census). Farmers are now in the minority, numbering only 11 per cent of working adults; this figure includes those in hunting, forestry and fishing as well (N.Z.O.Y.B., 1988-89, 439).

Agricultural produce no longer dominates New Zealand's exports: in 1986-87 only 45 per cent of all produce was composed of meat, dairy, and wool products (N.Z.O.Y.B., 1988-89, 736-737). Only 30 years previously these products had comprised 90 per cent of New Zealand's exports. And so, farms must now be run with fewer personnel, and more as businesses than as a way of life, because of international competition and high internal costs.

The urban populace has also been heavily affected by recent economic changes: they must learn new specialist skills due to high unemployment and the move away from primary production; be willing to live a more mobile lifestyle, shifting places for vocation and education; and be more aware of the cost of consumer goods. In these ways New Zealand is becoming similar to other industrialized nations. However, the quality of life is still more relaxed, the landscape uncrowded and magnificent, and the people oriented to recreation and sport, with friendliness apparent to most tourists.

These enduring features are partially due to the South Pacific setting, but are also a result of the dual heritage of two strong cultures, one European and the other Polynesian. Like partners in a marriage, differences between these cultures must be resolved in the future for New Zealand to become a nation. To all New Zealanders this tiny land mass is their home, and their identity; their sense of place is tied to it alone now. In these tumultuous times, a cross-cultural understanding of sense of place seems in order, and may help resolve conflicts, enabling New Zealand to stay Godzone for many years to come.

## CHAPTER 7

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND BANKS PENINSULA SETTING

The research design used in my case study of Banks Peninsula combines methodologies from phenomenology, ethnography and social surveys; other methodologies supplement these primary ones. A review of the objectives of my research opens the chapter, followed by a section on research design and methodology. The next section details specific methods used in my fieldwork. A section on the methods of analysis and interpretation used to assess data from my case study is then presented. A description of the Banks Peninsula setting concludes the chapter. The bulk of the chapter is devoted to a presentation of the methodologies and methods selected for my research.

#### 7.1 Objectives of My Research

The primary objective of my research is to resolve some of the most pressing questions concerning sense of place, toward the development of a theory for sense of place that is cross-cultural in nature. To facilitate that objective, four secondary research aims were devised: to examine sense of place through cross-cultural perspectives (modern-indigenous); to investigate how sense of place is developed and lost; to see how sense of place varies among people; and to attempt to delineate sense of place from other associated topics, thereby clarifying it conceptually. Each of these four secondary aims will be discussed in turn in the following sub-sections. Because of the significance of cross-cultural perspectives to my research, this topic is outlined in more detail.

##### 7.1.1 Cross-cultural Perspectives

My research has been set up primarily to explore the sense of place of two peoples, one modernized and the other indigenous. Sense of place varies greatly between urban, rural and tribal peoples due to their different beliefs and ways of life. For modernized peoples, sense of



place is probably stronger in rural areas if residents there have a more traditional, community-based way of life, as they are less transitory than urban residents. Indigenous people who live outside cities have often retained closer links with their culture as well. Consequently, a rural-based study enables an examination of the topic among people who usually have a deeper sense of place. These people can thus be targetted for interviewing to learn more about a sense of place that is developed in full; this condition can also be contrasted by interviewing transients, especially mobile city dwellers, who have a shallower sense of place.

The typical condition of modern and indigenous peoples will be reviewed to demonstrate the importance of understanding the cross-cultural research aim. In the field these assumptions will also be examined to see whether they hold true among respondents. Modern people's thinking style is said to tend toward dualism; subconsciously they form conceptual boundaries between body/mind, person/world and humankind/nature. Their activities are often confined within the realm of mechanical-clock rhythms, workaday routines and an urban milieu. Moving from place to place for reasons of work and education has become common. An emphasis on materialism and consumerism is characteristic. And so, modern people's sense of place may have lessened due to cultural and technological influences.

This change is in contrast to the whole relationship with the earth that characterizes indigenous peoples. Their cosmology, tribal way of life, group identity, rituals, thinking style, and ancestry all root them to a particular place; indeed, their place is said to have become part of them to the point that they are at one with their place. Modernization has eroded the indigenous form of people/place relationship to some extent, but such a relationship has been found to persist to a large extent in several recent anthropological and geographical studies (e.g. Bonnemaïson, 1984; Brody, 1975, 1983; Yoon, 1986). The solidity of this relationship was found by these researchers to be stronger in rural or wilderness regions, away from the direct influences of city life.

My fieldwork has focussed upon (traditional) rural people, because these people are less tied to the (metropolitan) urban sphere. A traditional rural way of life is more apparent in remote parts of New Zealand, as opposed to rural localities on the fringes of large urban centres; in other modern societies, a rural way of life has almost vanished completely (e.g. in

North America and parts of Western Europe). Pakeha and Maori were targetted for interviews on the Peninsula to study sense of place directly in a cross-cultural light.

The Maori population of the Peninsula has declined in recent years due to urban drift: they now make up less than five per cent of the total population. Many of these Peninsular Maori still retain essential aspects of their traditional culture, with their cultural strength bolstered by nearby out-migrants who travel back to the Peninsula frequently. To better understand the two main cultures of New Zealand, however, the scope of my cross-cultural research needed to be widened beyond the Peninsula's borders.

Cross-cultural perspectives were gained in many ways (see next section), but the focus was upon differences between rural pakeha and traditional Maori in Banks Peninsula. The cosmological views of both peoples, Maori and pakeha, from which their place relationships are derived, are incorporated into sense of place theory by the close of the dissertation. An urban sense of place was only studied peripherally, through Peninsula residents' comments, interviews with out-migrants who lived in cities, my observations, and reference to previous studies.

#### 7.1.2 The Development (and Loss) of Sense of Place

The way in which a sense of place develops needs to be clarified, notwithstanding my previous research (Hay, 1986: see Chapter 3). During my fieldwork in Banks Peninsula I discerned a variety of sub-groups of residents, classified in several ways. An important classification is by progressive stages of residence (e.g. tourists; long-term campers; holiday home owners; transient residents; immigrants; new residents; long-term residents). Other divisions are made conceptually, including a distinction between those who had moved in versus those who were raised there; pakeha and Maori; and Banks Peninsula residents as opposed to out-migrants.

How people felt after they had left their place was checked in my fieldwork, because those without a strong sense of place are thought to move away often, and because senses are often heightened concerning a past place once a person has left that taken-for-granted world. A contrast with residents' views is thus provided through out-migrant interviews, with this contrast also showing in whether a lessening or a loss of sense of place has occurred among out-migrants. The out-migrant data was supplemented by a survey of displaced foreign

university students and staff in Christchurch. The effect of place change on sense of place was also examined, to see if such a development contributed to the loss of sense of place.

Factors thought to centrally influence the development of sense of place, and within the realm of individual choice, were examined, as were those that were more beyond the control of individuals, such as physical environment, culture, society, historical change in place, community and family. These are listed in Figure 7-1, and relate back to the literature review (see Table 3-2).

### 7.1.3 The Variability of Sense of Place

There are several ways in which sense of place may vary - in both depth and character - amongst people. Factors of an environmental nature, involving the physical environment (topography; landscape type; degree of isolation) and the setting of one's home socially (size of community; rural or urban situation) were examined (see Fig. 7-1). Other factors of a demographic nature, including age, gender, group affiliations (occupation/social class), residential status, race and localized ancestry were also investigated (Fig. 7-1). The movement of people through space and time was considered too, as this factor is related to topographic and social qualities of the place; this was then tied into the spatial extent of sense of place and feelings of territoriality.

### 7.1.4 The Essence of Sense of Place: Clarifying the Concept

The assumptions in modern people's thoughts about "reality" tend to make their lifeworld taken-for-granted. Hence their sense of place is seldom a topic of self-realization. Phenomenological methods were employed to attempt to uncover people's real relationship with their place, and to clarify just what "sense of place" meant to them. Toward this end, a number of perspectives were employed in the research design to raise consciousness momentarily (for myself and respondents) on the topic. These are shown in Figure 7-2, and detailed in the next section.

Sense of place was also compared to related terms by respondents and myself. In this way sense of place became more clearly defined in a cross-cultural perspective. Respondents' sense of place is reported in the first chapter of the results, as an awareness of its qualities - represented by different sorts of people - is fundamental to an understanding of material which

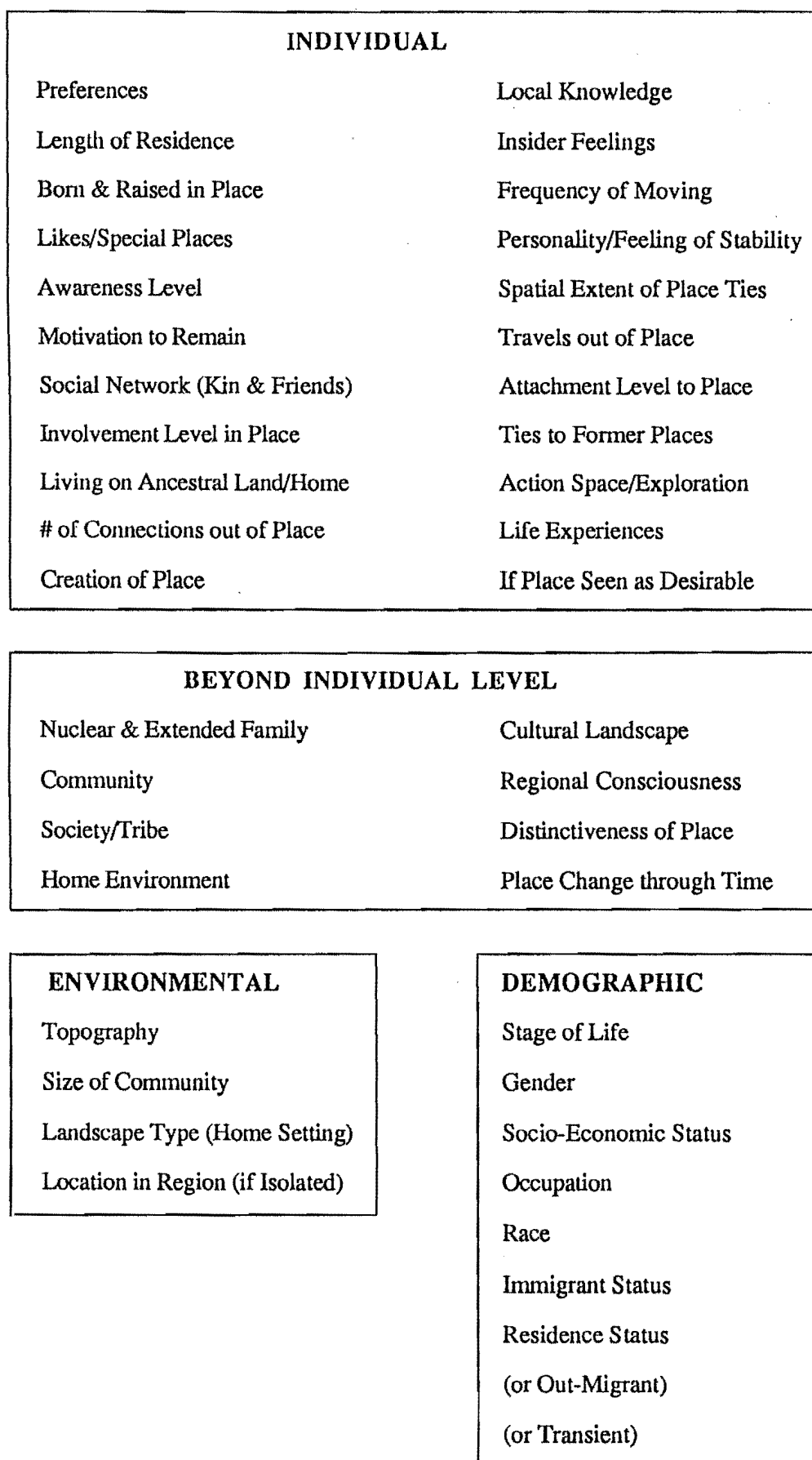


Figure 7-1: Variables which potentially affect the development of sense of place.

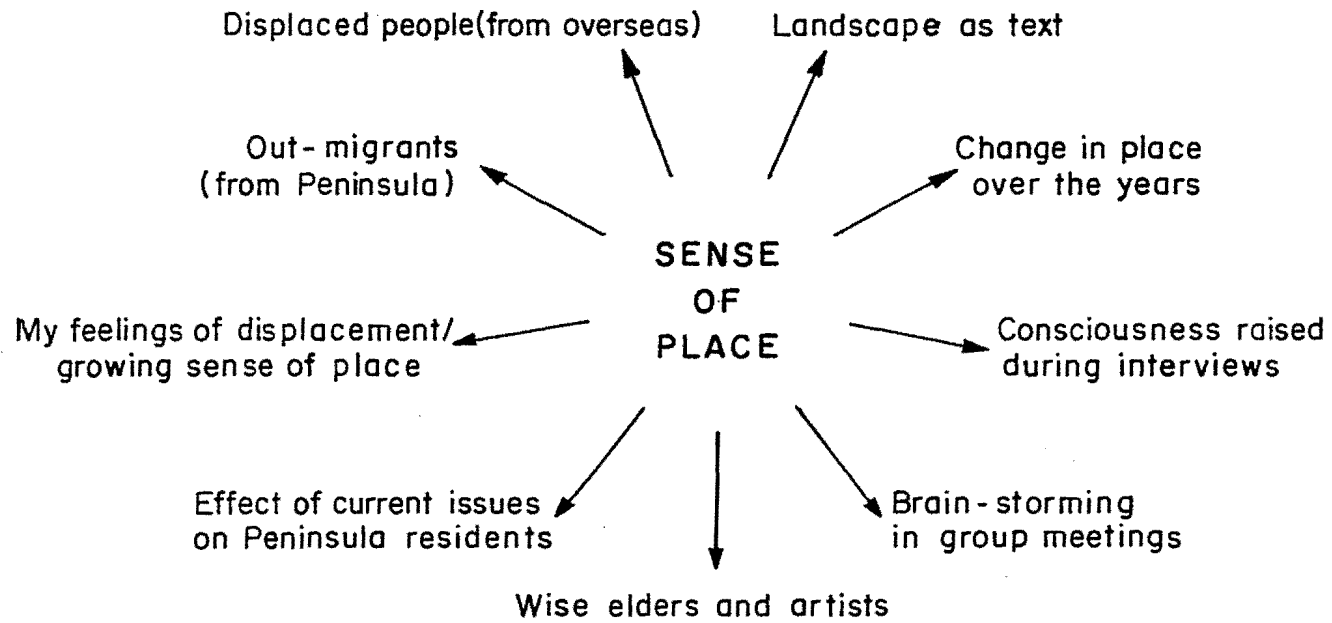


Figure 7-2: Perspectives on sense of place.

is presented further. The manner in which I theoretically conceive sense of place, as based on the case study results and a comparison with literature on the topic, is presented in the concluding chapter.

## 7.2 Research Design and Composite Methodology

The design of my research has necessitated a large degree of creativity, as sense of place is both taken-for-granted and complex; the holistic nature of the topic also required that multiple data sources be employed. Sense of place is thought to develop in people not only through long residence in one place, but also through short, but important, moments in their lives when their ties to place are both realized and intensified. To get at those moments during fieldwork, I knew that I needed a research design that had not yet been devised.

Further, I required not just one methodology, but a composite of several, inter-related methodologies. To explain these design elements more clearly, some general points are made on my research design in the first sub-section, followed by a review of my composite methodology in the second. Elements from both sub-sections, however, were interwoven in my research. My research design also includes a description of specific methods (Section 7.3), together with my methods of analysis and interpretation (Section 7.4).

### 7.2.1 General Research Design

Because my research is topically-defined (i.e. I was not attempting to write a regional description of Banks Peninsula, *per se*), with theoretical understanding of the topic the impetus for the research, I have not limited myself to the constraints of one approach, one field site, or one discipline of academic endeavour. The complementarity of elements in my research design has allowed the breadth of the topic to be covered, with different methodologies balancing off each other's deficiencies. The holistic nature of sense of place required several overlapping methodologies, both to expose its many aspects and as a safeguard in case some methodologies were less successful in the field.

I have adopted a humanist stance in my research, in which the meaning and values that people find in their place are emphasized, but I have not been limited to that stance alone. Effects from the social world, beyond the individual level, together with aspects of the environment (the physical space, and the qualities of place) have been considered; the

functional and operational relationships that people have with place (i.e. behavioural geography) and indigenous people's cosmology have been studied as well. I have also checked data from previous sense of place research; from archival sources (for the New Zealand setting); and have reflected on my own experiences. And so, the complexity of the topic has been matched with a complex research design.

In keeping with phenomenological methodology, I used a number of perspectives to raise my own and others' consciousnesses and thereby draw out important realizations, thus getting at the essence of each respondent's relationship with his or her place. This was accomplished in different ways for different respondents. In my research design, I approached the topic from several complementary angles (see Fig. 7-2):

- 1) people were interviewed in such a way (through question design and flow) as to raise their consciousness gradually about their relationship with their place (see Appendix 1);
- 2) out-migrants were located and interviewed to solicit insights on their former place;
- 3) group discussions with residents were held on a wide range of topics related to sense of place, contributing insights through brain-storming;
- 4) wise elders and perceptive artists resident in the study area were consulted;
- 5) people were asked how current social and economic issues and/or personal disruption have affected their sense of place;
- 6) the landscape and home surroundings of residents was used as a "text" (see Nogue i Font, 1985, in Sub-section 4.3.2) to note the reciprocal effects of landscape and a strong sense of place among residents;
- 7) the historic record of the region was checked to note how changes have affected inhabitants' sense of place;
- 8) displaced foreign students and staff at the University of Canterbury were asked about their feelings for "home", now that they are at a psychological and physical distance from it;
- 9) my own reflections on sense of place and those of several New Zealand experts were compared to those of the respondents in my case study; and,
- 10) previous research on sense of place was reviewed for theoretical insights.

I selected Banks Peninsula as the study area primarily because many residents there (Maori and pakeha) have localized ancestry, and because of its varied topography, which has tended to isolate residents in small, valley enclaves (see Section 7.5). Factors such as these were thought to have a major influence on the development of residents' senses of place. The Peninsula is also proximate to Christchurch, and has a manageable size and population base.

Reconnaissance trips were made to the Peninsula in mid-1987 to check on its suitability as a study area, and to make initial contact with residents, both Maori and pakeha, who would introduce me into the Peninsula's social network. The Peninsula study area (see Fig. 7-3) was determined from conversations with residents. The population of Lyttelton Harbour was excluded due to residents' ties to Christchurch, and because they have less contact with residents of the outer Peninsula (see Fig. 7-3). A control area was not used because the research design was not positivist; thus the data were being verified in other ways (see Chapter 5 and Section 7.4).

Selection of respondents for interview in my fieldwork varied according to relevance to sense of place theory (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 116; Hycner, 1985, 294; see also the next section). Selection was facilitated through networking, and was directed toward people who probably had a strong and/or interesting sense of place. I targetted several different subsets of respondents to investigate different aspects of sense of place. These subsets are listed in Table 7-1, showing the number of respondents interviewed per subset. The use of random sampling would have resulted in the under-representation of many of these groups (e.g. the elderly; artists; Maori; transients). Characteristics of subsets of respondents are described in the results chapters as each group is introduced.

Apart from this selection process, a population of residents from Okains Bay was interviewed to investigate community influences on sense of place, with introductions again made through networking. In one case a random sample was taken in the Peninsula, to establish the extent of tourists' senses of place. In total, 500 interviews were conducted with 495 individuals in my fieldwork concerning Banks Peninsula between mid-November 1987 and mid-February 1989, with 151 of these interviews held with respondents who lived outside the Peninsula (out-migrants; holiday home owners; long-term campers; and tourists).



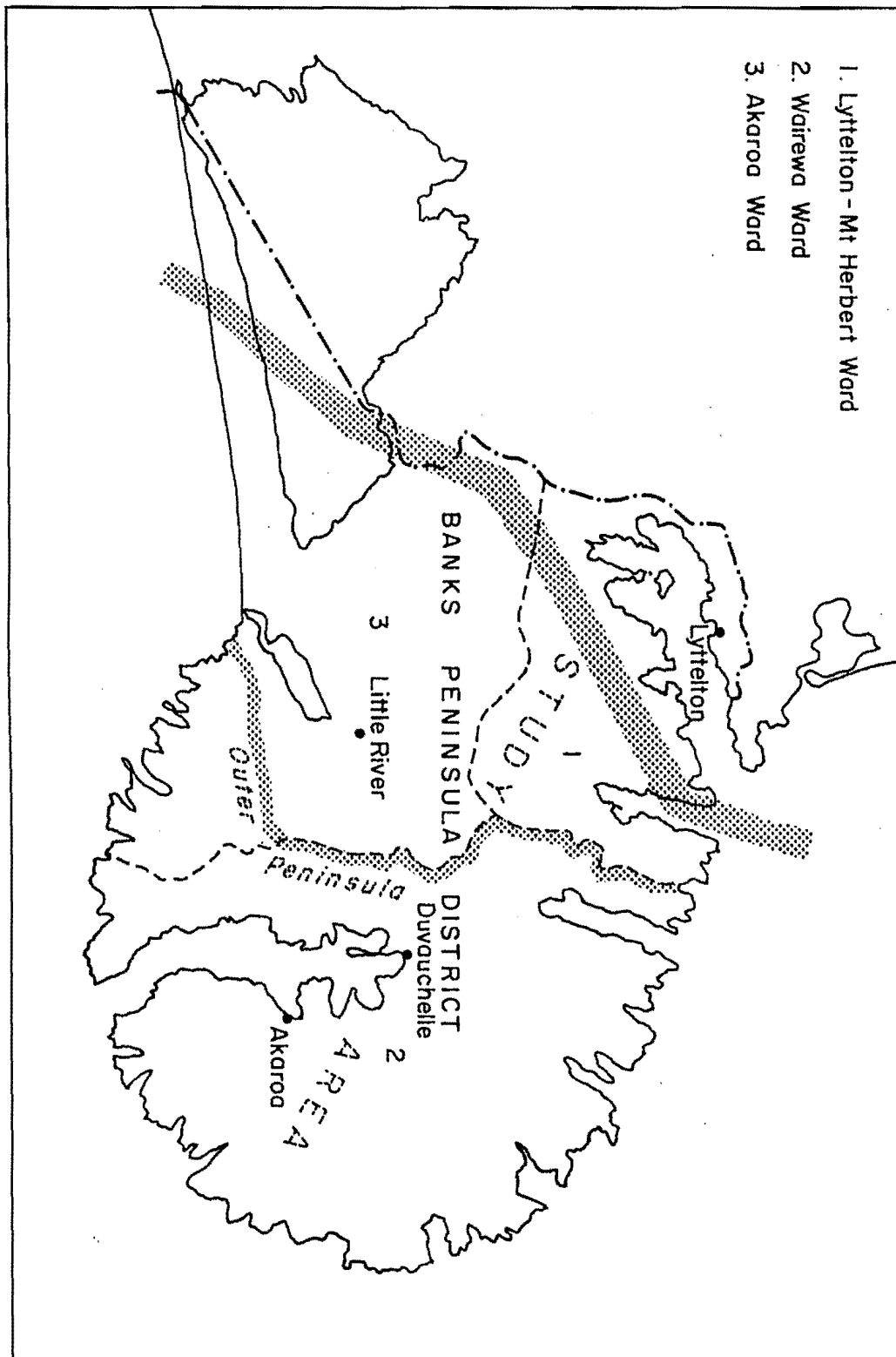


Figure 7-3: Banks Peninsula study area.

Table 7-1 Respondent selection and methods used.

<u>Type</u>	<u>When</u>	<u>Where</u>	<u># Interviewed</u>	<u>Method</u>
<u>Maori</u>	Nov 87- Dec 88	Banks Peninsula	29	interviews; attend <i>hui</i> & stay with families/on <i>marae</i>
<u>Isolated Bays &amp; Ridges</u>	Nov 87- Nov 88	Banks Peninsula	100	family interviews in isolated outer bays and ridges
<u>Community</u>	Jan-Feb 88	Okains Bay	56	canvas community; field camp; interviews
<u>Child</u>	Feb&Jul 88	Akaroa & Okains Bay	78	brief exercises in 3-4 class rooms (different age groups)
<u>Town</u>	Apr-May 88	Akaroa	84	interviews
<u>Elder;</u>	Nov 87- Nov 88	Banks Peninsula	42	interviews (age 71-plus)
<u>Father/Son Mother/Daughter</u>	Nov 87- Oct 88	Banks Peninsula	31	interviews across generations
<u>Immigrant</u>	Jan-Aug 88	Banks Peninsula	17	interviews
<u>New Resident;</u>	Jan-Aug 88	Banks Peninsula	34	interviews (< 10 years resident)
<u>Transient</u>	Jan-Jun 88	Banks Peninsula	13	interviews
<u>Group</u>	Mar-May 88	Banks Peninsula	3 meetings per group	group discussions on topics; 3 groups of 8-10 members (from Okains Bay & Akaroa)
<u>Artist;</u>	May-Aug 88	Banks Peninsula	21	interviews & group meeting
<u>Out-migrant</u>	Sep-Oct 88	1) Christchurch Region	55	interviews
	Nov 88- Feb 89	2) around New Zealand	25	
<u>Long-term Camper</u>	Jan 89	Okains Bay	20	brief interviews
<u>Tourist</u>	Dec 88	Akaroa	32	brief interviews; random sample
<u>Displaced Foreigners</u>	Jun 87- Aug 88	Christchurch	100	displacement questionnaires

Total interviews: 270 Peninsula adult residents (total pop. 2500)  
 78 School children (residents)  
 20 Holiday home owners  
 20 Long-term Campers  
 32 tourists (in Peninsula)  
 80 out-migrants (moved from Peninsula)  
 100 displaced foreign residents (Christchurch)  
 600 (note: 5 respondents in two categories)

Coupled with my method of approach and manner was rural Kiwi hospitality, resulting in a total response rate of over 98 percent.

Aside from my Peninsula fieldwork, I also investigated pakeha and Maori ways of life in general (see Section 7.3). By soliciting information on sense of place from such diverse sources, from Banks Peninsula and New Zealand as a whole, additional aspects of sense of place have been clarified, providing information for my four secondary research aims.

### 7.2.2 Composite Methodology

My composite methodology has been derived primarily from phenomenology (see Pickles, 1985, 1988; Relph, 1985; Seamon, 1982, 1987a, 1987c) and ethnography (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983), with additional input from social survey methods (Marsh, 1982), oral history (Brecher, 1986), self-reflection (Eyles, 1985) and video-taping methods (Burgess, 1982). Because these methodologies have already been discussed in Chapter 5, I will move directly on to how I adapted them to my research design.

The tenets of the three prime methodologies upon which I based my research design will now be presented. Phenomenological methods of most importance included: lessening the influence of theoretical presuppositions and abstractions; approaching respondents with empathy (and noting my effects on the research setting); attempting to find the essence of the phenomenon - sense of place - through bracketing, and through subsequent reflection; and allowing new knowledge on sense of place to unfold naturally, without a rigid timeframe or adherence to a set of hypotheses. Phenomenology was backed up by ethnography, because trying to reflect on the topic and expose what is taken-for-granted without being a "stranger" to a culture context is difficult conceptually.

Assessment of cultures which were not my own through ethnography also allowed the examination of Maori culture in a more sensitive manner. Being a "stranger" to my research setting provided perspective on the topic, and this method was exploited in full. Many deeply held beliefs were common to both peoples under study, as Maori had already undergone a great degree of cultural assimilation. Since I was also a member of a modern culture (from Canada), I could thus understand many of these beliefs, which gave foundation to my interpretation. I also lacked the biases that New Zealand researchers may have (e.g. prejudice toward an ethnic race, or a hesitancy for one tribe to let another research it); this was found to be particularly

important for entry into research settings with Maori people, and to find material which had been taken-for-granted by culture members, Maori and pakeha. In practice, ethnography was found to complement phenomenological methods very well.

Social surveys were conducted for several different groups of respondents: the main sample of 270 Peninsula respondents; 80 out-migrants; smaller groupss of temporary residents (holiday home owners, long-term campers and tourists); and school children (see Table 7-1). Standardized question lists were used with each group (Appendix 1) to facilitate analyses of trends in their responses. Questions were determined from previous research and from a pilot study in the Peninsula. Statistical analyses were only considered a possibility at the outset of the fieldwork, though, as I was not certain whether certain lines of enquiry would prove fruitful. Thus my mind was kept open, in a phenomenological fashion, during these surveys. The format of interviews and selection processes for respondents are described in the next section.

Some comments on my role in the data gathering process and my use of self-reflection are made now, as these are also methodological concerns. The topic, sense of place, leant itself to my being a participant, as I was in effect studying the process of becoming an insider, of becoming attached to a place. Undergoing this process personally made the experiences of respondents concerning their sense of place more significant. Since I was not an insider, there was objective analytic perspective in my approach. I decided not to report my own sense of place in detail, as was done by Eyles (1985); instead, only certain aspects of my experiences would be used in the discussion to contrast what had been found among the respondents. The variety of material gathered from respondents would provide most of the data for analysis.

A description of my use of methodologies from oral history, video-taping and group interviews will conclude this section. Oral history methodology was interwoven into the design and implementation of my social survey. Questions were asked on Banks Peninsula's history to enhance my local knowledge, and to see how place changes had affected respondents' senses of place. Video-taping was adapted as a method in my research design (see next section). A series of group meetings with Peninsula residents was employed to cover various aspects of sense of place in detail. One group was formed from each of Okains Bay, Akaroa, and a Maori social network - based on *hapu* (sub-tribal) affiliations - in the Peninsula.

Each group consisted of 8 to 10 residents who had been previously interviewed, were co-operative, and who knew each other. There were three bi-weekly meetings with the pakeha groups from April to June 1988; a number of meetings were necessary to cover the topic list (see Appendix 1), to build group rapport, and to enable knowledge on the subject to develop. The group interviews were found to complement the individual ones well, providing in-depth material on sense of place and airing views in public for confirmation. Additional information on specific methods is contained in the following section.

In summary, data gathering consisted primarily of interview data in three realms: individual/group; Maori/pakeha; Banks Peninsula residents/out-migrants, through the use of multiple methodologies in a complex research design. The methods used to gather these data will now be presented.

### 7.3 Methods

From an examination of previous research experience, including my own, I decided that less-structured interviews would be my primary means of gathering new material on sense of place (see Girogi, 1975; Hay, 1986; Hycner, 1985; Korosec-Serfaty, 1984). The methods closely followed those of Hycner (1985) for phenomenology and Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) for ethnography as set out in Chapter 5, with adjustments for my particular project and research setting. Details of those adjustments will now be outlined.

To develop my main research instrument - the question list used with 270 Peninsula residents - I conducted a small pilot study in November, 1987, testing this list with a variety of Peninsula residents. I refined this list further during the first two weeks of interviews with Peninsula residents in January, 1988. My local knowledge and methodology also rapidly developed during this period: I learned ethnography through fieldwork, and I tried to be generally presuppositionless in my phenomenological thinking, not allowing formal (abstract) theories or hypotheses to dictate the conduct of my research. Knowing something of the topic was necessary, though, to devise the question lists; to explain what my research was about to curious respondents; and to separate the wheat from the chaff (for theory development and checking my methods) while still in the field.

Except for a field camp in Okains Bay during January/February 1988 and a stay in an Akaroa holiday home for three weeks in May 1988, several short trips of 1 to 4 days' duration

were made to Banks Peninsula to conduct interviews. The Peninsula phase of my interviewing was held between November 1987 and October 1988 in a one-year cycle to see the Peninsula during all seasons. Out-migrants were interviewed between September 1988 and February 1989, toward the close of my fieldwork. School children were interviewed in Okains Bay and Akaroa during November and December 1988. Campers, holiday home owners and tourists were covered in January-February 1989. I completed my fieldwork in January/February 1989 by video-taping a number of Peninsula residents whom I had previously interviewed, visually recording a subset of the questions concerning their own sense of place.

People were suggested to me through first contacts and at the close of interviews. I surveyed suggestions from a host of different residents, targetting new respondents who seemed most appropriate to my research aims, and others who were said to be more willing to expound their views. I used the names of people who had referred me as an introduction to new people. Because of the smaller population of Maori on the Peninsula, most of the adults living in the outer Peninsula (see Fig. 7-3) were interviewed; others who had left the Peninsula were also targetted for interviewing. Many adult members of particular local communities and most of the Ngati Irakehu - a *hapu* of the Ngai Tahu and the sub-tribe indigenous to Banks Peninsula (Irakehu is used afterwards to denote this *hapu* in the dissertation) - were interviewed with the aid of this networking method. Networking was also used to locate out-migrants from the Peninsula.

There were 500 interviews in total completed with 495 individual respondents concerning Banks Peninsula (see Table 7-1). Five respondents fell into multiple categories (for those of out-migrant, tourist, holiday home owner and long-term camper: see Chapter 9). Detailed interviews were conducted with Peninsula residents (270 in total), and with out-migrants (80). These interviews averaged 30 to 90 minutes in length, were held in residents' homes, and were tape-recorded. Out-migrants and holiday home owners were asked fewer questions; tourists, campers and school children were not tape-recorded, as they were only interviewed briefly. Questions in all types of interviews were usually open-ended, except for a few on personal history and demography (see Appendix 1). Consistency of responses was checked through different questions which covered related topics. Standardized question lists

were used so that tabulations and some statistical analyses could later be done, to check trends on particular aspects of sense of place.

Interview sessions were conducted informally in respondents' homes - or sometimes in a nearby locale - in a relaxed style, with myself asking initial and clarifying questions. Interviews were held with between one and three persons at a time, and infrequently up to eight persons. My wife occasionally accompanied me in interview sessions; whereas her presence helped socially, her absence was not found to affect the research setting adversely. At the start of the interview a brief explanation of the research and my background was given; at the close, information was given about public meetings which would be held about my research, both at the conclusion of fieldwork and at the conclusion of the project write-up.

Except for a few refusals, each interview was tape-recorded using cassette tapes; all interviews were listened to again later, and the most pertinent extracts transcribed. A two-page form (similar to the question list) was filled in during the interview and kept with each tape to aid in identifying its content (see Appendix 1). Respondents were asked at the end of each interview whether their comments could be used in my dissertation: over 98 per cent agreed to this request. They were also asked whether I could later donate their tapes to the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, for use by researchers, with the same proportion agreeing to this request.

I used clarifying questions at times, and prompted respondents as little as possible. However, if responses were vague or too brief, probing questions supplemented initial ones. Wider discussion often occurred after the formal questions had been completed. Such unsolicited material helped increase my local knowledge, and any valuable insights which arose were later recorded in my field notes. Interviewing, listening and social skills were very important in this data collection, dependent more on my own qualities and experience than on simply asking questions from a list.

A series of group meetings was held with residents to supplement the individual/family interviews. These meetings helped place individual responses into a more social context, and exposed additional insights on sense of place. I chaired the meetings with the pakeha groups and provided refreshments; each meeting lasted for about three hours, and was held in the evening in one of the resident's homes. Group members were given the topics of the meeting

beforehand to allow time for reflection. Group meetings with pakeha were tape-recorded, and I took notes to identify voices and highlight respondents' (and my) insights as they arose. Maori *hui* were not tape-recorded, as I felt this would be too intrusive, particularly during *whai-korero* by *kaumatua* (speeches by elders) on the *marae*.

Group discussions were found to raise our collective consciousness, and brought out community, family, and local issues which had not been covered very widely in individual interviews. The individual interviews had allowed respondents to express their privately-held viewpoints; in group meetings, points forwarded by different respondents could be scrutinized by the whole group, thus checking their validity in the Peninsula's social context. However, consensus was not always reached: individual insights were often found to be more valuable than group agreement, with these insights extended through discussion.

Video-taping of 43 sets of Peninsula respondents (69 respondents in total), who had previously been interviewed, was conducted during January-February 1989. A cross-section of co-operative, interesting residents was selected for this task: respondents were asked if they would like to do this during the first interview. Only a few questions from the original list were asked, to record a summary of the most pertinent responses on video tape in respondents' place settings. Five to fifteen minutes tape was the norm per interview; since I already knew what had been said in the previous interview, I sometimes directed leading questions in order to record respondents' remarks in a compact format. Additional footage of their surrounding environment completed the interview. Video tape was taken on community events and to record Peninsula scenery as well.

Following this video-taping, which closed the formal phase of my Peninsula fieldwork, my wife and I have continued to visit some respondents (who are now friends) on the Peninsula during the analysis and write-up of my dissertation during 1989. I have thus kept in touch with the research and study area throughout the entire research process. This was especially important in tracing which respondents had moved out of the study area, and in checking on some of my preliminary conclusions.

I was also involved in a separate study of people who are temporarily resident away from their home country. This sub-study to my fieldwork was developed to fill a gap in sense of place theory: that of people's feelings of displacement. Since people feel displaced in their



new locale, and are often more aware of their place (and their feelings for it) once they are forced to be away from "home" for a long period of time, much about sense of place could be learned from recently displaced people, especially foreigners.

A questionnaire was devised and given to over 100 foreign residents of Christchurch, mainly students and temporary staff at the University of Canterbury. Amidst background data, their feelings of displacement in New Zealand/Christchurch were solicited, as well as their sense of place for their home country. Respondents were selected through networking, since that ensured that the 10-page questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was more likely to be completed honestly and in detail. The study has been ongoing since June 1987, with a 90 percent response rate. Although all questionnaires were handed in by September 1989, a thorough analysis has not yet been completed. Only an overview of these results is being used to inform sense of place theory in this dissertation, as a separate paper will be written to summarize the findings from this study.

Part of my methods include an assessment of my own sense of place feelings, and a review of sense of place-related literature, including background material on the study area, the New Zealand setting, and modern and indigenous cultures. I kept a diary of field experiences and reflections on the topic, which became a source of data in itself by which to compare my own sense of place with that of respondents.

My wider knowledge of Maori and pakeha ways of life was enhanced by a variety of methods, which ranged far beyond the setting of my case study. To learn more about traditional Maori culture, I went on a trip to a predominantly Maori region of New Zealand in early July 1988 (Ruatahuna, in the Tuhoe tribal area of the North Island: see Fig. 6-2); conversed with Maori experts; made a review of books concerning *tikanga-Maori*; and undertook coursework on culture and language at the University of Canterbury. I was also a participant in the University Maori Club. For the study area and New Zealand scene, respectively, archival data on Banks Peninsula (physical geography, visual depictions and history) was reviewed, and material on contemporary New Zealand culture (recent books, magazines and newspapers) and its dual origins was assessed. Interviews with experts around New Zealand supplemented this process.

Thus a number of methods were used to cover the research aims that I had set before me. Characteristics of the samples of respondents and my analytical framework are detailed next to complete the explanation of my research design.

#### 7.4 Methods of Analysis and Interpretation

I have adopted an interpretative approach to research (see Eyles, 1988a), in which I do not not impose order on the social world, but instead detect the nature of the social world in a limited study area through the use of multiple methodologies in the research design. In my analytical framework I have similarly emphasized qualitative analyses, to better understand the individual insights of hundreds of respondents, gathered during periods of raised consciousness and linked to both my own personal experiences and to previous research. This approach has allowed the collective wisdom of diverse data sources to be compiled and inter-related.

Because I have also used standard question lists in my research, social surveys were conducted, which enabled the use of quantitative analyses - through tabulations and statistics - to show trends in the data. These two forms of analyses, qualitative and quantitative, thus brought out significant new findings on sense of place, which when integrated into a theory, provide theoretical understanding of the topic. A positivist approach, toward the development of prediction through causal laws based on generalization from the research context, was therefore rejected in both data gathering and analyses.

Most of the data are qualitative and derived from phenomenological and ethnographic methods. Consequently, I have predominantly used methods of analysis and interpretation from those fields of study, trying to keep people (and their lifeworlds) as "whole" as possible, with abstractions of parts of those lifeworlds not made unless this was common practice among respondents. My results were reviewed in a broad analytical framework, as intuitive reflection was employed alongside deductive thinking. Insights from both respondents and myself on aspects of sense of place helped to structure the presentation of the results, as typologies became apparent through qualitative analyses. There was reflection on data during my fieldwork as well as afterwards, although most of the analytical work followed the fieldwork.

Findings were validated by checking themes against the data as a whole (logical inference); checking conclusions with respondents; comparing the description and theory

against my own experiences; seeking intersubjective corroboration with other respondents (on the data) and other academics in human geography (on the conclusions); having multiple (field) data sources to research the phenomenon - sense of place - from several angles; having ecological validity, since the data are derived from everyday settings and are primarily tied to the research context; and checking against previous studies.

In my qualitative analyses, a "sense of the whole" was first attained by reviewing all of the data and becoming familiar with it (see Sub-sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.1). Next, meaning units which have central themes and a unique and coherent meaning were determined, evident by examining key words and phrases through hermeneutics. In these steps my own meanings and interpretations were suspended as much as possible. Patterns in the data then became apparent, with important concepts and insights more noticeable.

The patterns and concepts were viewed along scales (using dialectics), and were related to each other during my analyses. These concepts were then related back to the phenomenon under question (sense of place), using the eidetic method, to note their alignment with the essence of the phenomenon. How these meaning units and themes were tied to the field situation in Banks Peninsula was noted as well. From all of this review arose typologies, emerging models, and theoretical constructs tied to the phenomenon. Each of these were themselves related to other theoretical ideas, common-sense expectations, my own experiences, and previous research in order to develop theory on sense of place.

The quantitative analyses supplemented my qualitative interpretation and were descriptive in character. A limitation of statistical analyses is their orientation toward determining individual differences, whereas sense of place is developed within a context, both environmental and social. And so, such analyses are useful in demonstrating relationships among data, but qualitative material is needed to show the meaning of such trends. A precis of the analyses is presented now; more details will be provided in the results chapters.

An indicator of the intensity of respondents' senses of place was first developed, based on their responses to several questions. These included feelings of place attachment; feelings of being an insider; the importance of localized ancestry to them; and their motivation to remain in (or return to, for out-migrants) the Peninsula. These four variables were logically compatible, and so were statistically analyzed in a reliability test, to see whether they could be

made into a composite by adding their  $z$  scores. Separate tests were conducted for Peninsular and out-migrant samples; high alpha scores (the reliability coefficient) in each test indicated that composite variables could be reliably formed for both samples (see Chapters 8 and 9 for details).

These composites were validated in part by comparing sum scores with lists of respondents: those who should have scored low on this indicator of sense of place (e.g. transients) did so, while those with high scores were the same residents who had been identified as having a strong sense of place during my networking process. The level of precision in the composite was too fine, however, as it was statistically-derived (to two decimal places); the scores also did not always match closely with expected values based on my knowledge of respondents. The formation of this composite allowed a greater degree of accuracy than was possible in qualitative analyses, though, enabling me to use statistical tests to compare groups of similar respondents, and to check the effect of certain more "independent" variables in the development of respondents' senses of place.

Most of these independent variables included such objective measures as gender, age, social status and race. However, some of these variables were more closely related to the development of respondents' senses of place, and were therefore not as conceptually independent. These included indicators of residential status and social belonging. Composite variables were again devised for these indicators, since respondents had not isolated these complex feelings into easily measurable, objective variables. As the formation of these composites was much more involved conceptually and statistically, this detail will be presented in Chapter 9 when they are introduced.

I felt that composite variables more closely approximated how residents themselves viewed their place, with greater reliability afforded by having different measures of the same phenomenon. The tenets of a phenomenological methodology were adhered to by orienting my analyses to respondents' views. Also, these composites kept my respondents as "whole" as possible, by not abstracting only parts of their lives for analysis in a mechanistic fashion. Because statistical tests were only used descriptively to identify trends among respondents, results were tied more to the context of my case study; a positivist, law-seeking ideology had thus been set aside.

In further statistical tests, the intensity of respondents' sense of place was compared to a host of environmental and demographic variables through Pearson's correlations and oneway analysis of variance (ANOVA). This latter test is used to compare samples of data to note how significantly different their means are from each other by examining the variance of data around the means within each sample and then between the samples (see Toothaker, 1986, Chapter 14). I used this test for variables with nominal data, noting how intensity of sense of place varied between samples (e.g between Maori and pakeha). Variables with ordinal or interval data could be compared to this intensity by using Pearson's correlation.

Because my sample of respondents was not random, statistical results have been used for descriptive purposes, to note probable relationships among variables for respondents in my case study. The statistical analyses tend to parallel results from tabulations of responses, and help clarify whether certain environmental and demographic factors have much bearing on the development of respondents' sense of place.

### 7.5 Banks Peninsula

Banks Peninsula is a geographically identifiable region, since its volcanic relief separates it from the flat Canterbury Plains. The Peninsula juts into the Pacific to the east of Christchurch (see Fig. 7-3), and was formed about 11 million years ago by two volcanos. Vulcanism ended after approximately 5 million years (Ogilvie, 1990); the craters that remain form Lyttelton and Akaroa Harbours. Some 20,000 years ago the volcanic islands were joined to the mainland by shingle washed down from the Southern Alps via Canterbury rivers. Except for the tussock grasslands of the southern bays, both valleys and upland areas of the Peninsula were extensively covered by forests (about two-thirds of the land area: Ogilvie, 1990) until shortly after the arrival of European settlers. The rugged topography of the Peninsula forms valley enclaves to shelter its human inhabitants (Photo 7-1); steep slopes and valley heads are today covered by scrub and remnants of the original forest, but the landscape is dominated by pastureland (Photo 7-2).

The Peninsula was once very isolated, cut-off from the Canterbury Plains by a series of high ridges and only easily accessible by sea. Christchurch is the nearest city, with a population of about 300,000 in the metropolitan area. A sealed highway joins Akaroa, the main Peninsula town (population 722: 1986 Census), to Christchurch, 80 kilometers distant.



Photo 7-1: Akaroa Harbour as seen from over 3,000 meters. Note the shape of the volcanic caldera.



Photo 7-2: The road to Robin Hood Bay, southern bays area of Banks Peninsula. Roads can be quite perilous in this part of the Peninsula. Tussock grasses are native in this particular area.

A section of that highway winds over the Hilltop - the summit of the ridge separating Little River from Akaroa Harbour - and a psychological barrier that separates the bulk of the Peninsula population from the Plains. The outer Peninsula population is 2010 (formerly Akaroa County), while the total population in my study area is 2669 (1986 Census: see Fig. 7-3).

The highway was only sealed during 1958-59. Until then, a trip to Christchurch and back took a full day by road. Prior to the 1940s the Peninsula's towns were also served by ship from the port of Lyttelton; in addition a railway connected Christchurch with Little River until the early 1960s (see Fig. 7-3). Most of the roads to populated Peninsula bays have been sealed in the past two decades. Because of improved access, many Christchurch people have recently built holiday homes in and around Akaroa, or refurbished deserted country houses. This development boom followed the O.P.E.C. oil crisis in the mid-1970s, when petrol prices doubled: Christchurch families who formerly spent their holidays in more distant South Island localities instead began holidaying closer to home.

Christchurch dominates the Peninsula economically, and many Peninsula families regularly shop, visit friends and family, and have their children attend secondary school there. The city was established in 1850 as a planned city by English settlers, following the Deans brothers who set up a farm near Riccarton Bush in 1843. Christchurch is said to be the "most English city outside England": it has retained more of the English "reserve" toward 'outsiders' - particularly foreigners without an English accent - and class structure than any other New Zealand locality. It is the largest city on the South Island, and is primarily a service centre for the farming sector of the Canterbury region. As such, residents are more oriented toward the land than the sea. The violent nature of the ocean, with few sheltered harbours on the Canterbury coastline partially explains this orientation, as does the English origin of its settlers. However, the Peninsula provides seaward recreation for Canterbury Plains' residents in the summer, who seek sheltered coves to escape strong northwesterly winds that are common at that time of year.

The climate of Banks Peninsula is moderated by the Pacific Ocean which surrounds it on three sides. Sea temperatures reach 18° C in summer in sheltered bays, dropping to 12 or 13° C in winter. Rainfall is generally higher and winters milder than on the adjacent

Canterbury Plains; 650 mm. is the Christchurch average annual rainfall, whereas this can more than double in some parts of the Peninsula. Temperatures are mild in Christchurch year round: a mean of 12° C in winter and 22° C in summer. However, lowland areas of the Peninsula are often 2 or 3° C warmer in winter than the adjacent Plains (Jayet, 1986). Summer temperatures are seldom hot, although strong northwest winds can bring heatwaves as high as 32° C. The crater rims, which reach 920 meters in height at Mount Herbert (see Fig. 7-4), are regularly dusted with snow in winter, but frosts are rarely recorded at sea level.

This unusual combination in climate types causes some plants, such as the nikau palm, to have their southern limit in the Peninsula, while a few subalpine plant species occur near the summits (Ogilvie, 1990); the yellow-eyed penguin is also at its northern limit for breeding on the Peninsula. Several plants from warmer climes have been introduced to the Peninsula and flourish, including the pohutakawa, kauri and bougainvillea. Early Maori tribes used south-facing slopes to cultivate kumara, the farthest south that this could be done in New Zealand. French settlers in 1840 brought with them plants for vineyards, nuts, and fruit trees.

The first humans known to reach the Peninsula were Maori, during the moa hunter phase about a millenia ago (Brailsford, 1981). These were succeeded by the Waitaha, a northern tribe, who were themselves overwhelmed by the Ngati Mamoe in the late sixteenth century (Ogilvie, 1990). Peoples, legends and place names from these tribes were absorbed by the next successor, the Ngai Tahu, in the early seventeenth century, who assumed *mana* over land through conquest and arranged marriages (Gray, 1990).

The warlike Ngai Tahu established several villages around the Peninsula, with the Irakehu *hapu* stretching from Taumutu at the entrance of Lake Ellesmere (Waihora), to Rapaki on Lyttelton Harbour, and thence eastward (see Fig. 7-4). The Peninsula's environs supported them well: they harvested seafood (*kai moana*) from the shores and nearby waters; hunted birds in the forest and ducks at Waihora; and gathered eels in both Waihora and Wairewa (Lake Forsyth: see Fig. 7-4). From their strongholds on the east coast of the South Island, they conquered most of the remainder of the South Island (*Te Wai Pounamu*) and were not challenged until a warrior chief, Te Rauparaha of the Ngati Toa tribe (near Wellington), waged war on them in the late 1820s.



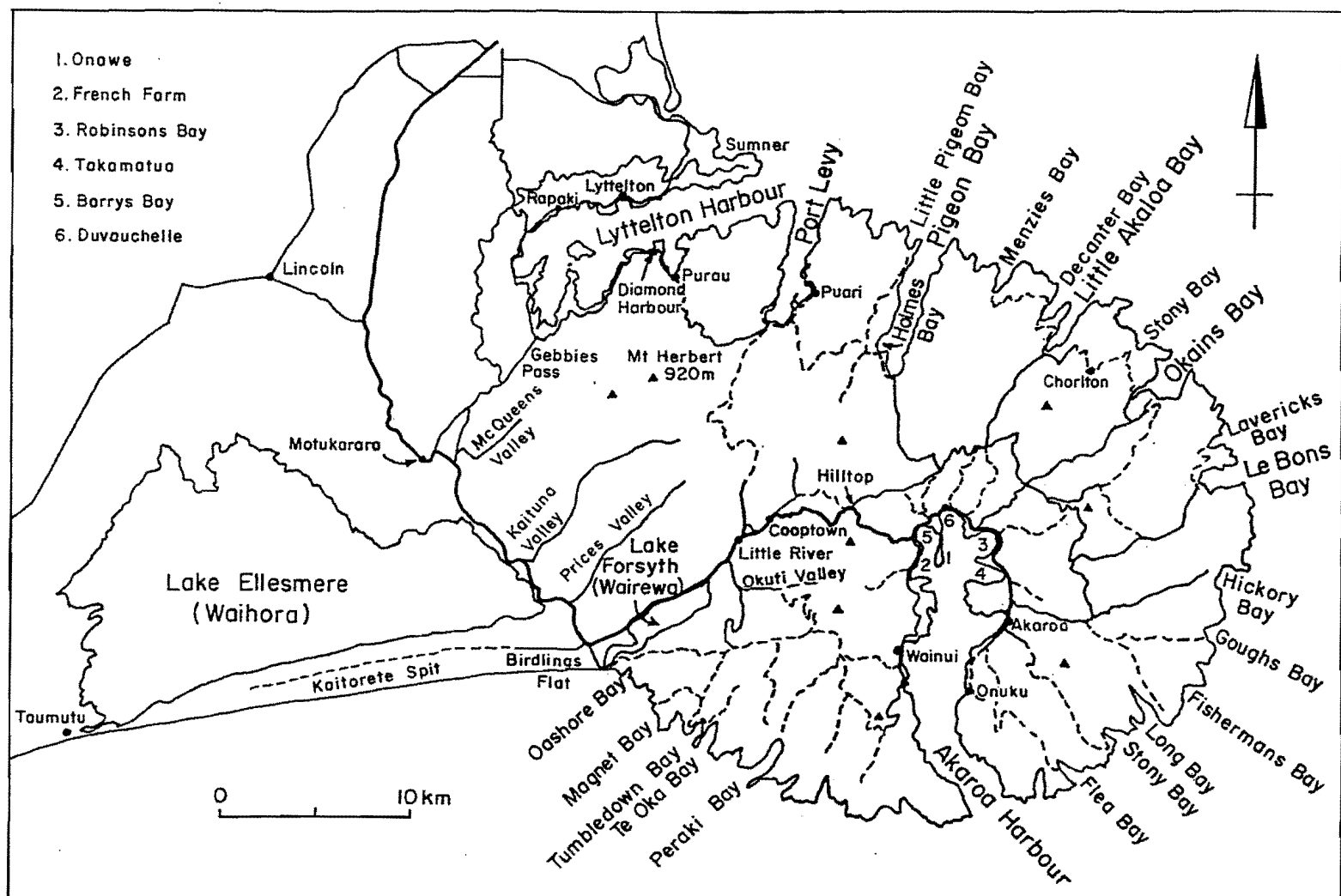


Figure 7-4: Banks Peninsula place names.

Te Rauparaha's attacks ended an internal feud on Banks Peninsula (called *kai-huanga*, or 'eat-relation'), and forced the Ngai Tahu to gather at Kaiapohia (near Kaiapoi) at their defensible *pa* site. When that site was burned in Te Rauparaha's next offensive (1831), many Ngai Tahu fled to Banks Peninsula. There they set up another defensible *pa* on Onawe Peninsula, but were defeated through Te Rauparaha's trickery in 1832. He slaughtered over 300 Ngai Tahu, taking their chief prisoner. In later actions he scoured Banks Peninsula for survivors, killing all that were found (see Brailsford, 1981). And so, when Europeans began to establish themselves on the Peninsula in the late 1830s, the remaining Irahēhu could offer little physical resistance.

Banks Peninsula was the site of sealing and whaling bases along its southern shores from 1837, with the first one established by Captain George Hempleman at Peraki Bay (see Grady, 1986). Others were set up in neighbouring bays soon afterward, with Akaroa becoming the service centre. Lieutenant-Governor Hobson had taken possession of New Zealand on February 6, 1840, through the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (in Waitangi); on May 30, 1840, the Treaty was signed by two Banks Peninsula *rangatira*, Iwikau and Tikao (Hight and Straubel, 1957, 66). Hobson followed this act with the dispatch of magistrates to Akaroa to forestall any French claim to that region (70-71). On 11 August, 1840 they raised the British flag at Akaroa; four days later Captain Lavaud landed the French ship *Comte de Paris* in Akaroa Harbour with 53 French settlers on board (Ogilvie, 1990). The French were thus too late to claim the Peninsula, but they stayed to settle, giving Akaroa a triple heritage of Maori, French and British forebears (see Buick, 1928).

Pakeha pioneers came to the Peninsula shortly after the French, with notable people such as Ebenezer Hay settling in Pigeon Bay, 1843; John Ware, John Thacker, and Edward Harris in Okains Bay (1851, 1854 and 1857, respectively); Arthur Waghorn in Little Akaloa, 1851; Francois LeLievre and George Armstrong in Akaroa (1840 and 1846, respectively); William Coop in Little River, 1863; Joseph Price in Price's Valley, 1852; and John Gebbie in Gebbies Pass, 1845 (*The Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, 1903). Descendants of these and other pioneers continue farming on virtually the same lands today, with inter-marriage solidifying an extensive kinship network. There are several family and community histories written to document early life in the Peninsula (e.g. Brittenden, 1978; Buick, 1928; Couch, 1987; Hay,

1901; Jacobson, 1884; Mason and Hitchen, 1987; Menzies, 1981; Pashby, 1981; Tikao, 1939), with only those by Couch and Tikao reviewing early Maori life. General historical references are Peninsula and Plain (Barley, 1965), and Banks Peninsula: Cradle of Canterbury (Ogilvie, 1990). A reunion of the Mason clan, celebrating 150 years in the Peninsula (1837-1987) was recently held, and included Maori and pakeha branches of the family.

Peninsula settlers were in a sometimes harsh environment and were isolated from Christchurch, which required a degree of self-reliance that can still be seen in many residents to this day. They had to carve farms out of the wilderness and endure a hostile climate with scant provisions. The Peninsula settlers quickly set about felling the native bush, particularly totara, matai and kahikatea. It was believed that the wood could be used for building purposes on the Canterbury plains for the next century. Alas, most of the land had been cleared within 40 years, much of it through burning (Petrie, 1963). Charred stumps still stand around the summit road near Akaroa, bearing witness to the waste by these pioneers.

The whaling also petered out by the late 1840s due to exploitation of whaling stocks (see Grady, 1986), but other local industries - such as boat-building, fishing and dairy farming - gradually became established (Ogilvie, 1990). Horticulture supplemented fishing and dairy farming, so that by the 1880s the population of the Peninsula was at its highest, at almost 5000 people. Dairy farms and cocksfoot grass-seed operations replaced the forests: the Peninsula supplied much of New Zealand with seed for cultivating pastures (Ogilvie, 1990; see also Coulson, 1979).

When the Depression hit in the 1930s, dairy production fell. Sheep were used instead to graze the pastures which had been developed on the fertile volcanic and loess soils. Cocksfooting, once described as a "gold rush", declined rapidly after World War 2. Dairy factories which had operated in several bays for almost a century were closed in the 1960s: only one now remains at Barrys Bay. With these changes and mechanization, the population fell. Labourers shifted to the cities for work, and many houses were left empty.

The small Maori population, congested in native reserves at Onuku, Little River, Port Levy and Rapaki (see Fig. 7-4), lost many family members and whole families in this out-migration phase. Among the pakeha, once thriving bay communities were left with few residents, seldom enough to field a sports team, or for their children to fill a one-room school.

Farm amalgamation swallowed up small units (often only 5 to 20 hectares), which were added to adjacent landholdings: there are now many farms in the Peninsula of 200 to 500 hectares, running a combination of sheep and cattle.

Tourism is the current growth industry, servicing both national and international visitors, as well as a large number of holiday home owners: the latter now outnumber residents around Akaroa Harbour in the summer, with the Peninsula's population swelling to almost 10,000 over the Christmas period. Approximately two-thirds of the homes in Akaroa serve as holiday baches (see Washer, 1977). Day-trippers often drive out to Akaroa from Christchurch on weekends, and tour buses carry international tourists there. They come to see the beautiful, sunny, seaside retreat, experience its peaceful ambience, view the spectacular scenery and explore its French history, a novel attraction in the South Island (Photos 7-3 and 7-4). The character of Akaroa and its own style of community life are portrayed in a recent work of fiction (Brown, 1986). Tourism supplements residents' incomes, coming just as farming was hit by a recession and the locally-based fishing industry was virtually disappearing.

Better transportation has enabled residents on the western side of the Hilltop to commute to Christchurch daily for work. Television, videos, newspapers and visitors also bring the world to the Peninsula. It is no longer so isolated, causing the conservative, farming traditions to slowly diminish in their dominance. New residents have revived the cultural life of Akaroa, with art galleries, restaurants, craftspeople and social clubs now commonplace there. They have also established new forms of horticulture and animal husbandry, including organic farming, goat-breeding, herbs and flowers, tree nurseries and fruit trees. Traditional farmers have responded by including some deer farms among their sheep and cattle enterprises, and by developing the occasional tree farm of radiata pine.

Banks Peninsula has finally been given status as one political region through the amalgamation of three counties and the town of Lyttelton into one district in October, 1989 (see Fig. 7-3). Past injustices to the Iroahehu have begun to be addressed through the Akaroa component to the Ngai Tahu land claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. Conformist, farming traditions are also being challenged by newcomers, who bring changes which are seen as threatening to the majority of residents. These changes are occurring at the same time as



Photo 7-3: Akaroa in the summer, viewed from the north.



Photo 7-4: Akaroa in the autumn, viewed from the south.

corporatization is reducing wage work on the Peninsula, inflation and taxes are increasing, farm subsidies have been recently removed, and rural services are being reduced (see Sparrow et al, 1979). Peninsula residents have recently been experiencing rapid changes to their way of life, much as those in the rest of New Zealand, and this shift has not always been appreciated. Coupled with the summer drought of 1988-89, which hurt a lot of Peninsula farms, the degree of rural stress is probably equal to that experienced during the Depression of the 1930s or the era of pioneer European settlement.

However, the rural way of life persists. There are still wild places away from the bustle of the city, and large, private farms where tourists do not intrude. Family traditions carry on, and family land usually stays in the same lineage. Increasingly the world is beating a path to the door of this remote jewel on the edge of Canterbury, disrupting the lives of residents to some extent, but their sense of place continues. My research occurred at an interesting period in the Peninsula, when old and new were juxtaposed.

## 7.6 Summary

Because sense of place is a complex topic, I have had to devise a complex research design to study it. I have gone beyond typical humanist approaches, also considering behavioural topics related to sense of place; effects of the physical environment; the social context of individual persons; and indigenous people's lifeworld and beliefs. Ethnography provided guidance in entering the research setting, while phenomenology directed me toward the "essence" of sense of place.

I developed my research design around a number of perspectives, to see sense of place from several complementary angles. I also selected several groups of respondents for interviewing, targetting my efforts to see peoples who would help in my quest for knowledge of different aspects of sense of place. I devised a composite methodology, based primarily on phenomenology, ethnography and social surveys to assist in the development of sense of place theory. This methodology was supplemented by methods from oral history, self-reflection, video-taping and group interviews.

Banks Peninsula was selected as my study area due to its proximity to Christchurch, history of habitation by both cultures - Maori and pakeha - and diverse topographical character. Most of my data consists of less-structured interviews, with respondents approached through

networking. Interviews with out-migrants, campers, holiday home owners, school children and tourists added to my Peninsula interviews with residents. Group meetings (Maori and pakeha) provided more in-depth material. The Peninsula data base was augmented by information from displaced university students and staff; by my own experiences and reflections; and by an assessment of materials from the wider New Zealand setting.

I analysed these data primarily using qualitative methods, with trends in the data established through quantitative analyses. Statistical analyses were descriptive, tying analyses to my sample and the research context. In qualitative analyses, intuitive and deductive thinking were both employed to get a sense of the whole for the data; find patterns and concepts in the data; assemble this raw information into meaning units and themes; and distinguish typologies, which led toward the development of a theory for sense of place. This theory was built from field data, personal reflections, and previous studies on sense of place, and was validated by several means.

The dissertation now shifts to Part III, the presentation of results from my case study. The scene is set to present respondents' sense of place (Chapter 8); the development (and loss) of sense of place (Chapter 9); and the variability of sense of place (Chapter 10). To ground my results in respondents' own lifeworlds, excerpts from interviews and photographs are often used. The next three chapters thus provide substantive, empirical backing for the development of sense of place theory. Further understanding of these results is gained in Part IV, when they are placed into several broader contexts and integrated into a theory for sense of place.

## CHAPTER 8

### A DESCRIPTION OF RESPONDENTS' SENSES OF PLACE

Banks Peninsula has affected the development of respondents' sense of place in several ways. The qualities of the Peninsula itself, its rugged topography and climate, its open landscape and small valleys, have left an indelible impression on respondents. Most of them love this place, and have formed a bond to it. In addition, the small communities which dot the Peninsula landscape are on a human scale of inhabitation: people get to know each other, and bonds to people form further ties to the land. Localized ancestry is also important to both Maori and pakeha residents. Some newcomers feel like "outsiders" because of the strong sentiments of insiders for their place, derived from long ancestry on the land. Territorial feelings arise, which are derived from topography, ancestry and the habitual realm where residents travel on a daily and weekly basis.

Because I studied sense of place in the context of a specific locale and among a specific set of respondents, the respondents and qualities of Banks Peninsula are described in general terms in the first section, using the respondents' own words. The interaction between respondents and their place is better understood through a review of respondents' likes and dislikes regarding their place; this review closes the section.

The presentation then moves to respondents' senses of place, beginning with some of their own observations on sense of place itself, and followed by sub-sections on the sense of place of those raised on the Peninsula; those who have moved on to the Peninsula; and a contrast between the effects of rural and city lifestyles on sense of place. Major aspects of respondents' sense of place are then described, and a statistical description of their sense of place is included. The third section shows how respondents became aware of their own senses of place. The fourth section covers the territorial feelings that respondents developed for their place, as well as the spatial extent of their sense of place.



The intention of this chapter is to report in detail respondents' senses of place, often in their own words; and so, quotations are used freely. A brief biographical sketch is provided when a respondent is introduced; further quotations from the same respondent contain a reference back to this sketch. A few photographs of respondents are included, and there are some statistical analyses in the final three sections. Based on the descriptions contained in this chapter, the next two chapters report how respondents' senses of place developed.

## 8.1 A Description of Peninsula Respondents and Banks Peninsula

This section provides necessary background to enable understanding of respondents' senses of place, which follow.

### 8.1.1 Demographic Characteristics of Peninsula Respondents

Some demographic characteristics of the 270 Banks Peninsula respondents are presented; reference may be made to Table 8-1 for details (see also Appendix 3). There were 29 Maori interviewed on the Peninsula, 19 of whom are Irakehu Ngai Tahu. The gender breakdown was 145 male and 125 female. Ages ranged from 15 through to 96; groupings are listed in Table 8-1. Some 20 per cent of all Peninsula respondents lived to the west of the Hilltop, in Little River to Gebbies Pass and in Port Levy; 31 per cent lived in the Akaroa area; and the remainder lived elsewhere in the outer Peninsula (see Fig. 7-3).

The average length of residence of respondents was 31 years. The mean length of time spent away from the Peninsula during their lifetimes was 18 years. Out of the 270 respondents, 145 had ancestry on the Peninsula. Most of the respondents were in the socio-economic category "middle class" (68 per cent), with equal numbers found on either side of this category. The most common occupation was farming (26 per cent), while 30 per cent were retired. Other categories are listed in Table 8-1.

Certain other characteristics are important. Almost two thirds of respondents (65 per cent) had always lived in the South Island, while only 19 per cent had lived overseas for a period of time (not including war experiences); other classifications by where respondents had lived are listed in Table 8-1. A little over one-third of respondents had never travelled overseas (36 per cent), with 16 per cent having travelled extensively beyond New Zealand's shores (see Table 8-1).

Table 8-1 Demographic characteristics of Peninsula respondents.

1. <b><u>Race</u></b>	Pakeha	Maori						
	241	29						
2. <b><u>Gender</u></b>	Male	Female						
	145	125						
3. <b><u>*Age Group</u></b>	< 36	36-55	56-70	> 70				
	19	36	29	16				
4. <b><u>*Occupation</u></b>	Farming	Business/ Professional	Housewife	Retired	Other			
	26	8	17	30	19			
5. <b><u>*Where Lived</u></b>	Always in Peninsula	Mid-Canterbury & Peninsula	South Island	North Island	Overseas			
	12	31	22	16	19			
6. <b><u>*Where have Travelled</u></b>	Never Gone Overseas	Travelled Overseas Infrequently	Travel Overseas Often					
	36	33	16					
7. <b><u>By Sub-Group</u></b>	Pakeha Raised on Peninsula	Maori	Foreign Immigrants					
	126	29	17					
	Pakeha Transients	Pakeha Who have Moved to Peninsula						
	13	85						
8. <b><u>Changes in Status</u></b>	Local Moves	Soon to Move Locally	Moved out of Peninsula	Later Returned	Soon to Leave	Considering Moving	Died	
	15	2	24	2	4	22	3	

Note: 1. N = 270; \* = percentage of total expressed

The 270 Peninsula respondents were sub-divided into five groups, based on conceptual differences in their sense of place, to enable analyses to be made. These differences were also noted by respondents during interviews. These categories were: Maori (29 respondents); foreign immigrants (17 respondents); pakeha transients (13 respondents); pakeha raised on the Peninsula (126 respondents); and pakeha who had moved on to the Peninsula, not included in any of the above sub-groups (85 respondents). Some of the Maori respondents who came from outside the Peninsula could be categorized as transients as well (three of the 10 non-Irakehu Ngai Tahu), but were included in the Maori sub-group because of their ethnic origin.

Since the onset of the field research there have been changes in the status of several respondents: 10 per cent of the 270 have either moved out of the Peninsula or died (see Table 8-1). Eight of those who moved on were in the transient category (one of these has returned), and one other was a transient Maori. A further six per cent of respondents have moved locally within the Peninsula (including those who will move soon), and eight per cent are considering moving, either by choice or due to economic circumstances. These changes are significant, as they demonstrate that up to 24 per cent of respondents are affected; this state of flux is also occurring among what is thought of (by residents) as a relatively stable rural population.

Of those respondents raised on the Peninsula - both Maori and pakeha - there are 31 two-generation connections (e.g. father - son) and two three-generation connections. Eighteen of the 270 respondents were artists or craftspersons; six of these artists were also interviewed as a group in Akaroa. In addition to the 270 respondents the following groups of interviews were also conducted: 20 holiday home owners, 13 of whom were temporary residents of Akaroa were interviewed concerning their Peninsula experiences; shorter interviews were conducted with 78 school children in classroom settings, 26 in the Okains Bay School (aged 5 to 12), and 42 in two Akaroa classrooms (aged 10 to 15); 20 long-term campers were interviewed at the campsite in Okains Bay; and 32 short-term visitors to the Peninsula were spoken with briefly. This last group included nine international and two local Ngai Tahu visitors; the remainder were pakeha, coming from the Christchurch region.

Further details on tourists, campers, holiday home owners, and school children are presented in Chapter 9. The 80 out-migrants (former Peninsula residents) that I interviewed are also described in that chapter.

### 8.1.2 Qualities of Banks Peninsula

The topography of Banks Peninsula has a distinctive character which is noticed by resident and visitor alike. New residents are particularly aware of its qualities, due to the contrasts they make with places where they have formerly lived. One respondent says that:

I think that the Peninsula's a specific area. Quite different [from] the community I grew up [in] at Ladbroke [near Christchurch, on the Plains]. It's not that far away, but it's quite different. (Sandy Craw).

(Sandy and Rod are in their late 20s and mid 30s, respectively; they run a pastoral farm above Little Pigeon Bay. She moved to the Peninsula seven years prior to the interview.)

Banks Peninsula has a very "physical" landscape, with steep slopes, a rugged coastline, howling winds and raging surf all reminding residents of their situation within nature. Despite these harsh elements, there is often tranquility, especially in small, sheltered settings. This characteristic of the Peninsula is described below in the next quotation:

- #1 There's a sense of tranquility about it. I like the shapes and the colours and things that belong with this particular sort of land. (Pip Young).

Yes, and very close to the seasonality of things, which you don't get in the city. I think if we had to move to the city we would have to go to a place with a vivid contrast, like the top of a high rise in the middle of the city. I don't think I could swap this for suburbia. (Graham).

(Pip and Graham, who are in their late 30s, lived in Little River for six years prior to being interviewed; she was raised above Te Oka Bay, and teaches in Little River School, while he commutes to work in Christchurch.)

The Peninsula is composed of two volcanic, sea-breached craters. Through erosion, deep valleys have been formed throughout the Peninsula, often running from sea level to the crater rims (see Photo 6-1). Steve Lowndes, Curator of the Akaroa Museum, describes how these valleys give a nest-like quality to Peninsula environments:

- #2 It's something to do with the scale of the place . . . the quality of the landscape and the fact that it is a "nest", a hollow; in fact, in a Maori legend it is referred to as a nest for birds of passage. And I imagine that comes about from the idea of people travelling up and down the coast in canoes, who would call in to the [Akaroa] harbour and find some providence. But it is a hollow, it is a nest, and you are very conscious of the fact of entering and leaving the [Akaroa] crater, so that, for me some of it is a spiritual dimension, but the other bits are purely the little nooks and crannies, the creeks and trees, and they are such delightful places . . . (Steve Lowndes).

(Steve immigrated to Akaroa from England eight years prior to being interviewed.)

The Maori speak of such nests as feeling "warm", due to their cultural beliefs and because of the warm microclimates created by the sun reflecting off the sides of these hollows. Two pakeha respondents speak of this sheltering feeling as well:

- #3 The geography of the place. The fact that you are surrounded by these amazing mountains and, at times, it's almost like a part of a picture card, isn't it? And it's so complete. (Anne Overton).

It's like the womb, Onawe [Peninsula] being the clitoral bit, you know. It's very much that. (Peter).

It's a very sensual place to be. You have to acknowledge the relevance of living here. You can't stand aside from all those things. You've got to get on with it and you've got to come to terms with it, and that's, for me, that's quite important. (Anne).

(Anne and Peter run a farm above Duvauchelle; they had been on the Peninsula for 15 years prior to being interviewed. She has taught at Akaroa School, and recently has moved to Christchurch to continue her teaching.)

Residents feel close to nature on the Peninsula. People there are surrounded by open landscape and various forms of wildlife. Qualities of birdsong, peace and panoramic views are described in the following three sets of quotations:

- #1 To get up in some of these reserves first thing in the morning, and hear the birds, see the sun up early, and . . . some of your sights are really something. They're really worthwhile . . . There's oodles of bellbirds; this morning before daylight there was a moorpork calling out, just two or three sections away. (Johnny Phillips).

(Johnny and Betty are in their mid-60s and retired in Akaroa, where they have spent most of their lives.)

- #2 Nature. A lot of relatively unspoiled nature. The quietness, which is part of nature too. The stream. It's very important to me. As we bought the place, it was the peace I bought the most. (Gerd Stettner).

(Gerd and Erika are in their late 30s, and live on a small farm in Little Akaloa; they moved to the Peninsula from West Germany five years prior to the interview.)

- #3 There's nothing more satisfying, I suppose, than to get up on top of the hill and just sit and just look. I can go out to the top up here [above Kaituna Valley] on one of the highest points we own, about 2,600 feet, and I can look across the hills to the back of Akaroa Harbour, and I've got all the way to Little River, round to that in there. And out over the Plains. And, on some clear days, you can just about see down to Timaru. And I can pick out Mount Cook from up top here. But it's something up there . . . I can sit up there and an hour's gone by in no time, just looking. (Pat Parkinson).

. . . and you are away up there, and you just can't explain how you feel. And the lights are lovely, and everything is changing all the time. It's just a wonderful feeling. It's part of you. I really can't explain. (Geraldine).

For all the money in the world, you can't buy it. (Pat).

Money can't buy you that feeling. But, we're very lucky, because we appreciate nature and we notice everything that is happening. But a lot of people don't. So, I suppose we really are lucky to get the most out of where we do live. (Geraldine).

(Pat and Geraldine are in their late 50s and live in Kaituna Valley. He was raised there, while she came from Gebbies Valley.)

There are also qualities of the people on the Peninsula which are special to residents, characterizing the Peninsula populace to a large degree. A few respondents' views are presented on these qualities under the heading "Good People":

### Good People

- #1 Oh yes, the people in the area are extremely friendly, and we have a good community, really. (Roger Coop).

Oh, you might not see them for two or three months, you know . . . they are there; if you want help, you only have to ring [telephone] them. (Beryl).

(Roger and Beryl are in their late 40s, and run a pastoral farm between Kaituna Valley and Motukarara. She moved to the Peninsula 27 years prior to the interview, and he was raised there.)

- #2 We enjoy the people you meet in country living. I think, I mean you meet all sorts of people, and somehow you've got time to enjoy their company. You know, time to have a cup of tea and talk. (Leslie Barnett).

Farming life is not so regimented as an office life, naturally, and I think that has its attractions. (Dick).

It's a very good community [Port Levy] to live in. (Leslie).

(Dick and Leslie are in their early 60s and late 50s, respectively; they moved to the Peninsula 33 years prior to the interview.)

- #3 I like the relaxed way people are here. I like the fact that I can go out and leave my front door/back door open all day, and to come home and know that everything is still here. I like the way that I know the children can go off, and, mind you, they're teenagers now, and go off and always have been able to in this community [Akaroa], go somewhere and know that they're going to come home, and that they are perfectly safe, and that if they do something wrong, someone surely will tell me. (Marlene Woods).

(Marlene is Ngati Kahungunu, in her late 40s, and was the Chairperson of the Akaroa Town Council at the time of the interview. She moved to the Peninsula 20 years ago.)

- #4 People in the North Island are perhaps out a bit for themselves . . . from the top half of the North Island. But, from the South Island, people are perhaps a bit more community-minded. I mean, I know that they have close family ties down here, but that appeals to me. It's perhaps not an easy-going way of life, but a bit more relaxed, sort of, isn't it? They don't let things get, perhaps, on top of them like they would in a faster city. I think that's why we like being here in Okains Bay, 'cause it's nice and quiet . . . (Cynthia Thelning).

(Peter and Cynthia Thelning are in their mid-30s, and were raised in the hills above Okains Bay; they run a dairy farm there now.)

Three further quotations by respondents on the "Traditional Character" of Banks Peninsula residents are included in this sub-section:

Traditional Character

- #1 I think I have a little trouble with some of the conservative attitudes that are a little ingrained in some of the people, like myself, who were born here, and been here a long time. (Jeff Hamilton).

. . . one chap, two years ago his mother died, and he had to go to Christchurch, and that was the first time in fifteen years that he'd been there [from the Peninsula]. And another chap I play cricket with, his father died this year, and his mother went to the West Coast [of New Zealand] after that; and it was the first time she had been away from the Peninsula. She had been to Christchurch, but the furthest she had been away was to Timaru [on the southern Canterbury Plains]. (Jeff).

(Jeff is in his early 40s, and with Tricia Hatfield, runs both a pastoral farm and a youth hostel above Onuku; he has lived on the Peninsula for most of his life, while she arrived from Canada two years prior to the interview.)

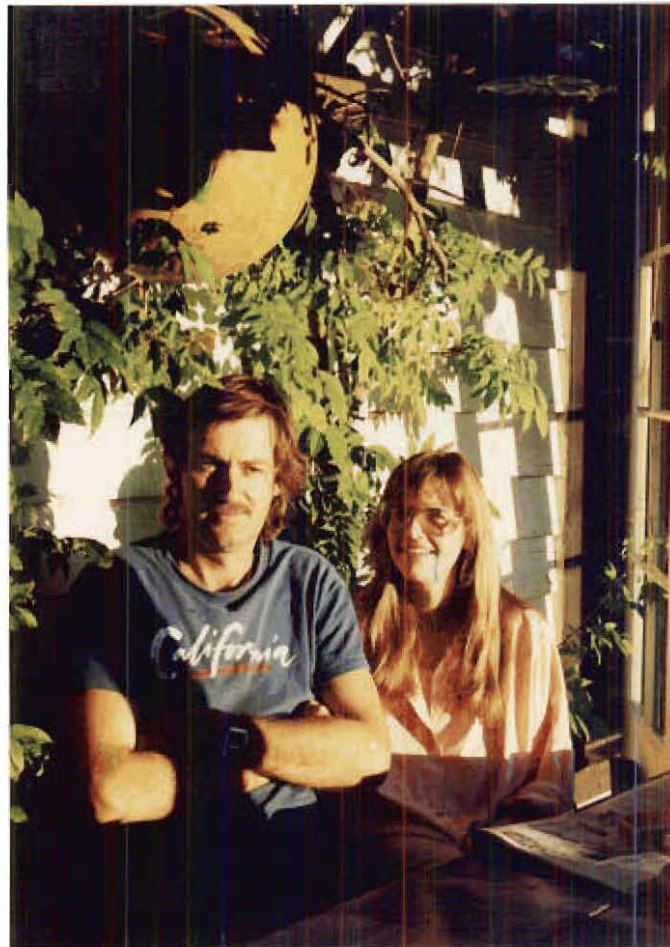


Photo 8-1: Jeff Hamilton and Tricia Hatfield at their home above Onuku.

- #2 We do things differently than traditional type farming people, I think. We sort of think differently and think more freely. (Leslie Brown).

Yes, I would think so. I think we wouldn't be perhaps quite so conservative. Some of them get a little bit, I suppose . . . serious about things at times. Take things too seriously. Don't see things in a philosophical frame of mind. (Dennis).

(Leslie and Dennis are in their early 30s and mid-40s, respectively; they run a pastoral farm above Fisherman's Bay, and moved to the Peninsula from Murchison, southwest of Nelson, five years prior to being interviewed.)

- #3 They can tend to get very parochial . . . a lot of people who haven't moved around from the Peninsula are very parochial; having dealings with them, they can see their own valley [and that's about all]. (Stewart Miller).

(Stewart is in his mid-50s, and runs a pastoral farm in McQueens Valley, where he has lived for most of his life.)

### 8.1.3 Likes and Dislikes of Respondents Regarding their Place

The majority of the 270 Peninsula respondents liked their place. When asked about what they liked in particular, eight per cent said "everything" or "I like it all", even after another question was asked to prompt them for more details. However, most respondents liked certain attributes more than others. Commonly mentioned likes included "scenery", "nature", "the sea", "peace/slow pace", "beaches", and "people/community" (see Table 8-2). In contrast, very few expressed any strong dislikes at any point in the interview, including when they were directly queried. Table 8-2 has been drawn up to display respondents' likes and dislikes, expressed as a percentage of the total sample; a characteristic is included in the table if at least 10 per cent of the respondents had mentioned it.

Common attributes that were noted by less than 10 per cent of respondents included "clean air", "freedom/space", "good for the kids/safe", and "seafood gathering/fishing". The likes and dislikes of tourists, long-term campers, holiday home owners, school children and out-migrants are included in Table 8-2 for comparison; their sense of place will be reviewed in Chapter 9.

I sub-divided the Peninsula sample into respondents who live to the east of the Hilltop (including Pigeon Bay and the southern bays), and those who live towards Christchurch from Little River, to see whether any major differences in the sample could be determined in their likes and dislikes. An asterisk (\*) marks these differences in Table 8-2. It is interesting that such attributes as "scenery", "nature", "the hills", and "people/community" were more important to those who lived towards Christchurch, while having one's "own beach" was more



Table 8-2 Likes and dislikes of Peninsula respondents regarding their place.

N	Tourists	Campers	Peninsula Respondents					Total	
			Holiday	School	Out-	East of	Little River &		
			Home	Children	Migrants	Hilltop	westwards		
	30	20	20	/ 78 \	80	216	54	270	
			<u>Age 5-11</u>		<u>Age 12-15</u>				
<u>Likes</u>			45		23				
Scenery	93	30	30		22	44	48	65	51
Peace/Slow Pace	60	75	75		35	40	45	46	46
Own Beach						14	39*	17	34
Nature			10			16	28	52*	33
Beaches		90	35	42	39		25	43*	29
Sea	53		40			35	28	30	28
People/Community		55	10		30	65	38	59*	42
Own Farm						25	24	26	24
Privacy							19	15	18
Own View							18	17	17
Climate			25				16	20	17
Akaroa					30		16	20	17
Hills						15	9	24*	12
Distance to Christchurch	20		10				6	35*	12
Views			25			12	11	13	13
Country Life			25			26	10	9	10
Playing with Friends				18					
Animals						17			
Sports						22			
Network of Campers		45							
Good Memories		35							
Amenities	30		20						
Good for the Kids		50	30			10			
Garden			20				7	11	8
Freedom		15	10			21			
<u>Dislikes</u>									
Less Community Feeling							31	57*	36
Tourists/Holiday			(day-trippers)						
Season			20		13		22	33	24
Distance to Christchurch							19	15	19
Roads						11	11	11	11
Conservatism						14	11	4	9
High Costs							11	4	9
Feel Like Strangers							6	15	8
Dole People							11	7	10
Climate						10			
Lack of Work						16			
Gossip						10			
Boring					43				

Note: 1. Only > 10 per cent frequency displayed in total columns, or in 1 of total columns for Peninsula sample.

2. Expressed as a percentage of total in sub-group; an asterisk (\*) marks major differences between percentages for the two Peninsula sub-groups.

important among those respondents residing east of the Hilltop. The "decline of community feeling" (on the Peninsula) was noticed more by those who lived towards Christchurch. Interestingly enough, this group also appreciated the "closer distance to Christchurch", which plays a large role in eroding community feeling in the part of the Peninsula on which they live. The decline of community feeling was often not directly mentioned by a respondent as a dislike when questioned, but came up at other times during the interview.

These tabulations, however, do not give a complete view of what it is about the Peninsula that is liked (or disliked) by respondents. A series of qualitative observations is included to give meaning to the numerical representation of their views. These observations have been clustered under different headings to show similarities among respondents, and to point out the different perspectives that respondents often have on the same category.

The sea is liked by many respondents, as is nature. Two quotations about the sea and another on nature are included below to show respondents' views on these general qualities:

#### The Sea

- #1 I like the sea because I had a lot to do with boating when I was young. If sometimes, if I'm, you know, I'll be just down there, and I'll just sit for half an hour and just look and drink it in . . . and, I remember last winter, you know, and the sea, the sun coming out of the sea. I'd actually stop the car and just drink it in for what it was. (Pip Foley).

(Pip and Jed are in their late 40s and early 50s, respectively; they run a pastoral farm in Robinson's Bay, and she teaches in Okains Bay School. Jed was raised on the Peninsula, while Pip moved in 27 years prior to the interview.)

- #2 I particularly like this place because . . . I like the proximity to the sea, and the openness of it. I don't, haven't got the feeling that I'm trapped in a valley. (John Davey).

(John and Jenny are in their mid-30s and late 20s, respectively, and live alongside Akaroa Harbour, just south of Akaroa; they moved to the Peninsula five years prior to the interview.)

#### Nature

- #3 The purity of the air, water . . . unpolluted, and there's space. Peace. No pressures of conformity. No temptations . . . shops to spend your money in, things you don't need. Simplicity of lifestyle. And we grow all our own food. (Hans Bergkessel).

(Hans and Elke are in their 40s, and moved to their small farm in Le Bons Bay from West Germany 12 years prior to being interviewed.)

The climate of the Peninsula is also appreciated, as the sea moderates it in both winter and summer, making it good for living and for farming/gardening. Two quotations below demonstrate how climate and tranquility are often linked in respondents' minds:

### Climate and Tranquil Moments

- #4 Well, climatically, I find it an easy climate. It doesn't have extremes, either in winter or in summer. And, its proximity to Christchurch to me is a very major benefit. We get the best of both worlds . . . It's again . . . it's an intangible thing. It's the peace of it, the tranquility I find really . . . there's a lot of things here that we've either put our hands on here or planned. You get satisfaction from that. (Julian Holderness).

(Julian and Rosemary are in their 40s, and run a pastoral farm in Gebbies Valley; he has spent most of his life there, while Rosemary moved into the Valley from Christchurch.)

- #5 I love the peace on a beautiful summer evening; certainly if you're looking up the [Akaroa] Harbour, the place is so still, quiet, you say to yourself "How fortunate you are to live in such an environment." (Mel Orange).

We say that every morning - we sit up there and have a cup of tea and look down the Harbour and say "Oh, isn't this wonderful." (Margaret).

(Mel and Margaret are in their forties, and run the Akaroa camping ground. They moved to the Peninsula four years prior to the interview.)

The main land use on the Peninsula is farming. But farming there is not just land use, in a business sense; it is also a way of life, as two farmers point out below:

### Good for Farming/Country Lifestyle

- #6 It's my home, you know. Well, as far as farming goes, it's a damn good piece of land. You know it's well watered. You could count 20-odd springs on the place. (Jim Hammond).

(Jim is in his late 60s, and still farms above Takamatua Bay; he has lived there all his life, and remains even though his wife died about one year prior to the interview.)



Photo 8-2: Jim Hammond and his 1937 Chevrolet truck at his farm above Takamatua.

- #7 Well, from a farming point of view, I have been brought up here, and I know the place backwards, and it has its big benefits . . . It's a lovely view, and it's a nice, fresh place, and it's good country living as it were. (Rod Craw).

(Rod and Sandy are farmers, and live above Little Pigeon Bay; they were quoted in Sub-section 8.1.2.)

Several respondents rapidly listed a number of attributes that they liked about the Peninsula, saying that they liked "everything" as well. Part of their appraisal also involved the proximity to Christchurch (also mentioned in quotation #4 above), which made country life on the Peninsula that much more attractive. Three sets of quotations describe clusters of attributes liked by respondents on the Peninsula:

#### Everything/Not Remote

- #8 Everything. It's a good place to live, a good place to bring up the family. It's peaceful, you can be an individual . . . it's just everything about it that I like. You've got the land, you've got the sea, you've got Christchurch not too far away . . . (Bevan Harris).

(Bevan and Jan are in their early 40s, and run a dairy farm in Okains Bay; he was raised there, and she moved in 23 years prior to being interviewed.)

- #9 But the quality of life, the quality of the air, the quality of the water, the quality of the food, all those things are important to me. And my attitude, I think, is made possible by the world as it has become in the late twentieth century. We live in what is basically a global village, and by being in a remote part of a remote island in a remote corner of the Pacific doesn't necessarily cut us off from sources of information. So, I believe we have the best of both worlds. One doesn't become a rustic peasant because one lives in a remote place any more. We have access to all the media. (Steve Lowndes).

(Steve is the Curator of the Akaroa Museum. He was also quoted in the previous sub-section.)

- #10 It's beautiful! It really is! It must be one of the most beautiful places in the world (Shireen Helps).

Everything's here. (Francis).

Yes, you've got everything. You've got the sea. You've got the hills. (Shireen).

You don't have to do without modern conveniences. They are not that far away. (Francis).

I think it is nice to be in a small community. (Shireen).

That's probably the most important thing. There's always other people around, as far as I'm concerned. (Francis).

Everything about it's special! The little Hector's Dolphins are special! The penguins, which we've got out at Flea Bay, they might be a jolly nuisance. They've got me bowlin' down the path every now and then, but, you know, they're special! Over at Flea Bay we sort of get to the stage where we feel like we're the guardians of the place. We don't like to see people set nets at night, and little penguins getting caught in them, and things like this, and we try to stop people from doing that. (Shireen).

(Shireen and Francis are in their mid-30s and early 40s, respectively; they run a pastoral farm at Flea Bay, and were both raised in the Peninsula.)

When respondents' remark on what they liked in their place were looked at in a cross-cultural perspective, both Maori and pakeha respondents were found to feel that they live in a "beautiful place". During the interviews 13 per cent of respondents said that they "felt lucky" to live on the Peninsula, without prompting. The benign environment of the Peninsula has made it very inhabitable, and the stable government situation in New Zealand has let people feel more secure, at least until the recession of the late 1980s. Because of the Peninsula's qualities, it is not surprising that the majority of long-term residents had rationalized away their few dislikes, putting them in perspective when their place was compared to others. The physical environment and country lifestyle thus profoundly affect their feelings for their place. This point will become much clearer in the following section, when respondents' senses of place are detailed.

## 8.2 A Description of Respondents' Senses of Place

Reporting respondents' senses of place is not a straightforward matter. During the course of the individual interviews it became apparent that different respondents were viewing sense of place from different perspectives. This was partially due to their varying backgrounds, with some being raised in the place, others having moved in, to cross-cultural variations, and even to immigrants as compared to native New Zealanders. A diversity of personal experience was being offered to me, but it was up to me to try to "make sense" out of these varied comments.

When individual interviews were conducted, I did not attempt to define sense of place to respondents, except to say that I wanted to know about their feelings for their place, including those of belonging. Respondents may have each reacted to my manner somewhat differently in interviews, but the variety of questions asked on their sense of place ensured that respondents' own views were adequately solicited. Few respondents were able to define their own sense of place, however, partly due to their unfamiliarity with the phrase, but also because of its complexity.

Even during group interviews in which aspects of sense of place were discussed thoroughly, attempts to define sense of place at the end of the last session proved very difficult.

Most thought that it was "hard to put into words . . . it is more of a feeling" (Alan Moore, Okains Bay). Others paralleled feelings of a "sense of belonging", "rootedness", "warmth", "attachment", and "home" with sense of place. The word "place" itself was somewhat obscure to group respondents as well, with most thinking of their own region or home area, and a few others pointing to their social position in the community.

To try to find some order in respondents' views on sense of place, I searched for themes while interviewing, and while later listening to their tapes. Three major themes arose out of assessments of Peninsula respondents. The first was a feeling of rootedness, insideness and place attachment among those who had been raised in the place, Maori and pakeha. This feeling was derived primarily from being born there, long residence and localized ancestry. The second theme involved a feeling of developing insider status among respondents who had moved on to the Peninsula, and were motivated to remain there. The third theme revolved around a cultural feeling of place attachment among Maori who had lived in the Peninsula a long time, and who were connected to their traditional culture. A further theme, of lessened feelings for the Peninsula together with nostalgic feelings, was apparent among out-migrants, and among those who were planning to move away from the Peninsula. Only a few respondents had no place feelings. The sense of place of out-migrants, and a description of those with no sense of place, are presented in Chapter 9.

It is more convenient to detail the senses of place that were found on the Peninsula in three stages rather than in three themes. The first stage, in Sub-section 8.2.1, presents some general insights on sense of place. The second stage then details the sense of place of those raised on the Peninsula (in 8.2.2), followed by those who had moved on to the Peninsula (in 8.2.3). The third stage, in Sub-section 8.2.4, contrasts a rural, rooted lifestyle with an urban, mobile one. The final sub-section then summarizes the major aspects of respondents' senses of place that were found.

### 8.2.1 Respondents' Views on Sense of Place

Some major insights on sense of place are presented in this sub-section, with others presented in later material. The insights shown here are grouped under headings to give clarity. The first three sets of quotations describe the need for developing a strong sense of place:



### Need for a Sense of Place

- #1 I think sense of place is important to everybody, and everybody wants to have it. And I despair for people who haven't got it, who don't feel that they belong . . . And I see that today in lots of young people. They are just lost and they don't know how to better themselves or help themselves. (Marlene Woods, quoted in 8.1.2 as well).
- #2 Well, everyone likes to have their own patch of land and their own house, and it's getting more and more difficult to do so, and it makes them angry. As society becomes more confused, people need to have something solid. (Mark Armstrong).

Something to relate to. A sense of place is something to relate to. (Sonia).

(Mark and Sonia are in their late 30s, and run a pastoral farm in Stoney Bay, near Akaroa. He was raised there, and she moved in 14 years prior to the interview.)

- #3 I think if more people had a sense of place, people would be more comfortable. I think people here who have a sense of place enjoy life. If you don't have a sense of place, you seem to lack a sense of, values, in other things, maturer things. (Paul Oliver).

I think it is a lack of sense of place that's creating the problem, not so much the violence, but the stealing, the breaking into other people's homes, the imposition on other people's goods . . . (Raewyn).

Lack of respect for others. Yeah, I think people here who show a sense of place really are laid back, relaxed in that sense. There's no problem with it. (Paul)

(Paul and Raewyn were preparing to depart from the Peninsula when interviewed, and had lived in Akaroa for seven years at the time. They are in their mid-40s, and had supported themselves through Paul's wood-turning. They now live in Queensland.)



Photo 8-3: Paul and Raewyn Oliver at their pottery and wood-turning shop in Akaroa.

Sense of place also tends to develop more strongly among (modern) people who own land:

#### Sense of Place and Owning Land

- #4 Sense of place seems to be much more marked for those who own land . . . those who have the opportunity to own land or real estate and live there, their sense of place, I suspect [is strong]. (Des McSweeney)

(Des and Marie McSweeney retired to the Peninsula from Lincoln two years prior to being interviewed; they are in their early 60s, and he was raised at Pigeon Bay. Des also runs a small farm part time now.)

People who become involved in a community also deepen their sense of place, through social links. Such involvement is especially important for new residents, as the next three sets of quotations, all from relatively new residents, demonstrate:

#### Sense of Place and Fitting into the Community

- #5 A sense of place, I feel, can be developed. I don't think you have a sense of place when you first go to a place. It is up to you as the individual to try and enjoy it and wrap it around you, rather than the place come to you. It's like we told our children: when they first came here they said "Oh, it's hard to make friends because they don't want to talk to me." And I said, "they've already got their circle of friends; they've been playing with those friends for years now, and you've got to fit in with them and not have them come to you." I do believe that's the same in a sense of place. (Paul Oliver, also quoted above).

- #6 We've learned you've got to join in. You've got to put yourself out to be friendly with people . . . we try to help people out if we can. I think you have to in a small place, and there is not very many people here, and you've got to be friendly with everybody, or life would be dreadful. You'd move. (Raewyn Cartwell).

(Raewyn and Gregg are in their late 30s, and were storekeepers in Okains Bay, having moved there three years prior to being interviewed. They have since returned to Christchurch.)

- #7 You've got to be happy where you're living, and that's only made by yourself. If you don't join in a community and be involved, then you can't expect to enjoy where you're living, be it anywhere. (Margaret Orange, quoted as well in 8.1.3).

- #8 The sense of belonging in a small community . . . you have an identity which you lose in a big city. I like being able to contribute to a small community too, bringing in the music and starting a group. (Marie McSweeney).

I like the sense of community and likewise going down to the town [Akaroa] and knowing a lot of people. (Des; the McSweeneys were also quoted above.)

#### 8.2.2 The Sense of Place of Those Who Were Raised in the Peninsula

Strong sentiments for their place were invariably expressed by respondents in this group, although some younger ones were less concerned about their place (see Chapter 9). Localized ancestry was usually important to those raised on the Peninsula (83 per cent of these 145 respondents), as was being born in their place. Both Maori and pakeha were similar in



their strong feelings, with older pakeha often comparing themselves to Maori by using the concept of *tangata whenua* (people of the land).

Quotations from respondents are again grouped under headings to bring together similar responses. The importance assigned to being born and raised in a place is presented first. The first two quotations highlight insider/outsider divisions in the Peninsula, as based on ancestry:

Importance Assigned to being Born on and Raised in a Place

- #1 Very much an "us" and "them" situation, without a doubt. There are people living permanently on the Peninsula who you relate to, you know, doesn't matter where you meet them, you know you get on very well. You relate to them because you've got similar backgrounds and interests . . . and meeting them from time to time. So you tend to view the people who come over [here years ago] as part of "us", and I think that is pretty good. And I think that happens in all districts. (Rick Menzies).

(Rick and Gay are in their 40s, and run a pastoral farm. He was raised there on ancestral land, and she moved in over 20 years prior to being interviewed.)



Photo 8-4: Brigadier General (N.Z. Territorial Force) Rick Menzies and his wife, Gay, at the Akaroa ANZAC Day ceremonies, 1988.

#2 . . . some people are fairly rigid in their acceptances of new people. (Helen Hall).

I think the Peninsula has always been parochial, and, you know, you've got to be here 20 years before you're accepted. And now there's a lot of new people coming to places like Little River, where it is considered within commuting distance of Christchurch. And we're getting a lot of people now, well I've got nothing against it, but I think some of the locals sort of get a bit tired of it, some of them. (Bill).

(Bill and Helen are in their early 60s, and run a pastoral farm in Peraki Bay. He was raised there on ancestral land, and she moved in from Christchurch; she has since died.)

The importance of being born in a place to be a total insider is brought out in the next quotation, based on a respondent's experience in Hororata, on the Canterbury Plains:

#3 In Hororata, if you weren't born there you might as well forget about being a local. It didn't matter what you did. Bill Schroeder, he was an engineer up there. He'd be called out at 2:00 in the morning to fix a header or whatever, and was expected to go, and was quite happy with it. And he ran the fire brigade, and he ran this and he ran that. He had been there 32 years, and he was told one night, "Well, look, you are not a local. Just remember that". . . Most of the people there were younger than him, but they had been born there. Hororata certainly had a social strata. School teachers and labourers on one tier, and landed gentry on the other. They have got a very strong [social] class. (Warwick Stephens).

(Warwick is in his mid-30s, and is a school teacher. He moved to Okuti Valley near Little River eight years prior to being interviewed, and had previously lived in Christchurch and other Canterbury locations.)

The next quotation demonstrates the significance of a rural recession, as ties to the land and a country lifestyle may be lost if a farm "goes under":

#4 I think a lot of the rural stress that is talked about today is perhaps the fact that there's the possibility that the farm as the family have known it may not be theirs for much longer, and I think that has got a lot to do with their stress, the people that are suffering. It's not so much the financial side of it. It's their roots. It's [the farm] probably been in the family for a generation or two. (Frank Davison).

(Frank and Jane, who are in their mid-40s, are pastoral farmers, and moved to Pigeon Bay, on to ancestral land, eight years prior to being interviewed.)

However, if a person moves off the land and comes back, he or she is still thought of as an insider:

#5 It's [the Little River area] always been home. I think that it's [not] easy to lose that sense of identity. Plus, I'm sure that when we moved here we found it easier to become involved with things, even though we had been away [from the Peninsula] for a while . . . I'd been away for quite a few years. We bought this block here by auction, and "What a crazy price to have to pay for a small block of land!", and they'd say, "Oh, it's all right . . . she's a local." (Pip Young).

(Pip returned to Little River to teach there six years prior to being interviewed. She was also quoted in Sub-section 8.1.2.)

The next set of quotations describes the importance of localized ancestry to the development of sense of place. Such ancestry is a particularly strong feature of Peninsula life.

I have included the decade when the ancestors of pakeha respondents, quoted below, arrived on the Peninsula, as this is often significant to residents in their social hierarchy there. In the next sub-section I will show how respondents with ancestry "block" new residents from forming a sense of place of their own.

I will let the respondents "speak for themselves" below, describing features of their ancestry that they consider to be related to sense of place. It is noteworthy that ancestry becomes more important to respondents as they grow older, and if they live on family land. The last quotation of this set compares the development of a garden to the development of a sense of place, with the garden becoming more established as it is tended through the generations; people perhaps become rooted in a similar fashion.

### Importance of Ancestry

- #1 I think most people on Banks Peninsula have a strong sense of place. Especially people whose families have forebears who have lived here. They treasure it, and to some extent it upsets them when people come in and, perhaps, vandalize or collect shellfish off their place or something like that. (Eric Streeter).

(Eric and Phyllis are in their late 70s and early 60s, respectively, and are retired in McQueen's Valley on his family's land, where he has lived all his life.)

- #2 I just think you'd have a much stronger sense of place if your ancestors [had] lived in the country, as one would in Britain, perhaps, [for] 10 centuries or something. As you people [the interviewer and his wife] have come from somewhere else, I think that that does alter the sense of place feeling. (Janice Turrell).

I think that those people who are fourth generation or fifth generation on the same property would have more sense of feeling than we see. (Ted).

(Ted and Janice are in their mid-50s, and run a pastoral farm near Kaituna Valley. His father had bought the farm in the 1920s. Janice moved in 21 years prior to being interviewed, and they were considering moving to the city.)

- #3 I think that we'd be in the same sort of position as some of the older families. Not only on the Peninsula, but families who have had property for perhaps a hundred years or so. There's a definite something about it. Well, I know I have friends who have fathers who "up sticks" [move] themselves to different districts, with a property and a house, and it never worried them. And it's probably because their parents decided for them, and they were never really settled in one place. (Rick Menzies; Rick was quoted above in this sub-section; his ancestry in Menzies Bay dates from the 1870s.)

- #4 Until recently it [my ancestry] didn't have much effect. But now it does. I identify quite strongly with the efforts that my ancestors have made to shape this place. I often try to imagine, you know, their perception, as opposed to mine, I think. And I think that's quite a nice exercise. I enjoy it immensely . . . I've a lot of emotions invested in this place. (Peter McKay).

(Peter is in his late 30s, and is a silversmith and part-time farmer in Le Bons Bay, where he was raised. His ancestry there dates from the 1860s.)

- #5 Nothing until I was about [age] 50. I think that it [my ancestry here] is terrific. I was around 50 years old and I realized I've got something here. Something to be proud of. Yes, definitely. A feeling of belonging, actually. I belonged right from the start, 'cause I can go right back to the bloke [man] that stepped off the ship [on to Peninsula soil]. (Doug White).

(Doug is in his early 60s, and runs a pastoral farm above Little River, where he has lived his entire life. His ancestry on the Peninsula dates from the 1840s.)

- #6 My father died when I was six months [old]. And I was brought up there [in Laverick's Bay]. And we've got a family burial ground, cemetery [in the Bay]. And so, you sort of lived with your ancestors, really, 'cause they were all there. And it just seemed sort of yesterday when you hear the men talk or other people, and they say, "Well, so-and-so did this", that you grew up thinking all the [time] they might be dead, but they're still around. (Josephine de Latour).

(Josephine and Peter are in their early 60s, and have recently retired to Akaroa. She was raised in Laverick's Bay, where they ran a pastoral farm; her ancestry in the Peninsula dates from the 1840s.)

- #7 [in response to a question on the importance of his ancestry] My father was a very keen gardener. He had this house built here [in Chorlton] in 1897. They were married, they set out the garden and everything. I have always been keen on gardening. I just carried on making the goal. I think when you plant things, the roots get deeper all the time, the same as the trees do. (Scott Craw).

(Scott and Jean are in their early 70s, and are retired in Scott's ancestral home, where he has lived for most of his life. Jean came from Okains Bay, a short distance away. Scott's ancestry in the Peninsula dates from the 1860s.)

Maori sense of place is somewhat different, in that the Irakehu have ancestry on the Peninsula which stretches back in time for almost a millenia, as they subsumed earlier tribes who lived there. Other Peninsula Maori have moved there from their own tribal homelands; they retain strong spiritual ties to those places, and have developed ties to the Peninsula as well. The men who are quoted in the three sets of quotations below are Irakehu, while the others are Maori who have migrated to the Peninsula. The tribal affiliations of these respondents are also included. Peninsula Maori sense of place is described further in Chapter 10, when cultural influences are examined.

#### Maori Sense of Place

- #1 I feel part of the place. This place [the Peninsula] is Irakehu . . . to me it is everything. I like every part of it. It's like, both sides of the [Akaroa] Harbour, is like a set of ribs to me. Been part of us [Irakehu] for years. For 140-odd years it has been on the pakeha side [of his ancestry], and the rest of the thousand years [of ancestry] is on my Maori side. (Henry Robinson).

(Henry has lived in Onuku all his life; he is the *Upoko Runanga*, or head of relations, for the Irakehu of Akaroa and Onuku.)

- #2 Oh, yeah, it [Onuku] has always been cast as a Maori place. I get no feeling, though, I get no feeling for Okains [Bay]; it's not what you call Maori. It is around here where I was brought up with, they class it as home. See, Okains is not home. It's got no



[Maori] feeling, Okains. It's just, the Museum [there] is just like a shop, you know? But this place here [Onuku], the family still, when they go away, they still call this home, you know? They come back for camping. That's what you call feeling, you know? (Bruce Rhodes).

And Onuku, it is recognized as a marae, and as home. They [Maori who have been raised there] go [away for] 20 years, but they still come back and call it, Onuku, home. (Polly).

(Bruce and Polly are in their mid-40s and late 30s, respectively; he is Irakehu, raised at Onuku, and she is Maniapoto, from the Waikato area of the North Island. She moved to the Peninsula 20 years prior to the interview.)

- #3 There's a terrific feeling of spirit here [around Birdlings Flat]. There's so many people [Maori] that have come here for this particular eeling season, which has gone on for generations. It's always very good to see these people come back. (George Skipper, or 'Kipa', in the Maori spelling).

(George is in his late 50s, and is Irakehu. He was raised at Birdlings, and lived for many years in the North Island, before returning to the Peninsula a few years ago.)



Photo 8-5: George Skipper at his home in Birdlings Flat.

#4 At Onuku I feel a presence of a, you know, having a guardian angel. You know, that warm feeling, and I'm being watched over and cared about. Going to the outer bays, it is anglicized, you know, [in its] spiritual feeling. (Tatiana Pimm).

At Onuku I know them all [the local Maori]. A feeling of belonging. We feel the warmth, you know. And, I suppose, boiling it all down, it's home. I feel I belong here. (Tatiana).

I feel very much for mine [tribal land], and I'm sure what's been left to me, I feel very much for it. I feel more so what's been left to me simply because it's been handed down from generation to generation, than this place [in Akaroa] that I have bought. That's part of me [her tribal land], part of my ancestry. Part of my heritage. Even though I'm miles away, I feel very strong about it. Yes. (Tatiana).

(Tatiana is Ngati Kahungunu, Nga Raurau, Ngati Ruanui and Te Ati Huanui, and in her mid-50s. She came to the Peninsula from the Wanganui region in the North Island 27 years prior to the interview.)

- #5 I think, if I was going to be completely honest, my spirit belongs to the Coromandel Peninsula. However, I feel, I feel that I have an identity in this place [Akaroa] too. I really like this place, too. It appeals to me. It has been warm for me. I've enjoyed, I've had lots of nice things and lots of awful things happen down here, but I think it's all part of living, of growing up and all that, so I'm very fond of this area, but spiritually I'm, I think Coromandel Peninsula is really where I . . . [belong]. (Marlene Woods).

(Marlene is Ngati Kahungunu from Thames, at the base of Coromandel Peninsula in the North Island. She moved to Akaroa 20 years prior to being interviewed, and was also quoted in 8.1.2.)

There are also similarities between Maori and pakeha residents of the Peninsula in their sense of place, if the pakeha have localized ancestry. A number of respondents pointed this out; a selection of their remarks is provided below in five sets of quotations.

#### Maori/pakeha Similarities

- #1 I think the Maori concept of the *tangata whenua* - the people of the land - spreads across to pakeha people, and they have a tremendous sense of identification with New Zealand. Maybe it comes from being a small country. Maybe it comes from the fact that you are aware that your place in the world is tenuous. But I find that New Zealanders as a whole have a great sense of place, and it isn't bellicose nationalism. I think it is an identification with the land, and I get the idea that that might come from the Maori cultural attitude toward the land. (Steve Lowndes; he was quoted in 8.1.2 as well).
- #2 I can understand why the Maori, the *tangata whenua*, you know, why they've got such ties to the land. We've been here such a short time compared with them, and I can understand it. It's maybe the same, similar feeling. (Francis Helps; he was quoted in 8.1.3 as well).
- #3 Security. This is us. This is our place [Le Bons Bay]. This is, where to a point, I can identify with the Maoris and their feeling about their land. This is our own patch, you know? (Lorna McKay).

(Lorna and Clyde are in their early 60s, and retired above their farm in Le Bons Bay, where they were both raised. Their ancestry in Le Bons goes back to the 1860s for Clyde and the 1850s for Lorna. Their son Peter was quoted earlier in this sub-section.)

- #4 Maori people, of course [have a stronger sense of place]. That goes without saying. Yes, and their tribal lands . . . to them the place, the land, is in a sense their mother. (Eric Streeter).

As far as Europeans go, if they've been in a certain area for generations, they have an attachment to it. It's attractive to them. Like for us living here . . . we're attracted to this area having lived here so long. (Phyllis; Eric was quoted earlier in this subsection).

- #5 The way for me in accepting that the land cannot be owned by anyone, that the land just is, and that it accepts people living on it in that way, and that I belong as much now as the Maori people now, but I am very close to them as well. (Peggy Fox).

(Peggy and Leon are in their late 20s, and were Anglican pastors for the outer Peninsula until early 1990. They had lived for three years on the Peninsula when interviewed; Peggy moved to Onawe from the United States, and Leon is from Christchurch.)

### 8.2.3 The Sense of Place of Those who have Moved on to the Peninsula

A resistance to newcomers among Peninsula residents who were raised there was apparent in the preceding section. This facet of Peninsula life tends to make new people feel uncomfortable to a certain degree, until they have proved themselves through long residence and community involvement. Because of this, new residents' sense of place may develop more slowly than among locals who were raised there; some new residents also may move on because of feelings of exclusion.

Local opposition to newcomers was more a feature of the Peninsula when it was very traditional in character, prior to the 1970s. Respondents who have recently moved to the Peninsula - both immigrants and New Zealanders - still report this quality, but for many it is not such an issue. Their own feelings for the place are more important. The newest residents often express a strong affection for the Peninsula, although they also are at a stage of residence whereby they are still comparing the Peninsula to the place from whence they came.

A number of quotations are used below to illustrate this affection, and to show its various forms among respondents. Immigrants' developing senses of place are presented in the last three quotations. Transients' views are not included in this section, as they did not have a developed sense of place (see Chapter 9).

#### Newcomers' Senses of Place

- #1 When I first came here I felt that I belonged here. From the very first time I ever came I felt that there was a link. (Fay Hill).

(Fay is in her early 60s, and retired to Akaroa nine years prior to being interviewed.)

- #2 We are more than happy to just stay at home. You know, friends come out, we take them for a walk over to the *pa* [Maori fortified village]. Over to Oashore and like that. For myself, I just love getting up on to the hills, and just sitting on a tussock, and looking. And [I] enjoy when I see something. (Peter Higginbottom).

[I like] the sea. Marg probably more so than I . . . it's got its draws, doesn't it? (Peter).

Yes, I think we can just sort of feel the atmosphere of the sea, and even though I can't see it, I know it's there. In just the general feeling of the place . . . I think of all the places we have lived in, and I feel closest to this place more than any other place, really. (Margaret).

(Peter and Margaret are in their early 40s, and run a pastoral farm above Birdlings Flat; they moved to the Peninsula six years prior to being interviewed.)

- #3 All the way through we felt a strong attachment and an affinity, really. It was very much something that we felt snuggled into rather than just happened to be living here. It was a very strong feeling for me. That feeling of coming over the hill [at the Hilltop] and seeing it and feeling it. And feeling that good. Like a blanket wrapped right around you. I've probably felt that in a few places in my life . . . this is certainly one of them. And I therefore expect that, having been away a few years, in the future coming back, feeling the buzz. (Paul Oliver; he has since moved from the Peninsula after living there for eight years, and was also quoted in 8.2.1).

- #4 When we first came here I thought these hills were really boring . . . I thought that they were the duller looking things that I'd ever seen, and how on Earth were we going to live amongst them and enjoy it? But, in fact, because I go out every day up the road, and I've had a chance to see them in every sort of light that's available, the mornings, the nights, and the spring and summers and all different lights, and the hills change. With all these different lights, they have become quite, really, significant in the way I feel about here, and I think that's what makes the spiritual feeling that I get from them really. I'm possibly more aware of it. I think it gives me great joy, the landscape here, and I can actually feel uplifted by it. (Penny Wenlock).

(Penny and Martin are in their early 40s, and moved to Te Oka Bay from England three years prior to being interviewed. She is an artist, and he commutes to Christchurch to work.)

- #5 Coming from Germany where everything is so much, so competitive, I am sure we appreciate [being] in New Zealand . . . the feeling of easy-going kind of thing very much at the beginning. It was annoying at times too because, at times, we thought it was a bit too much easy-going, but the friendliness . . . I think that have [has] a great effect on our being here. (Elke Bergkessel).

(Elke and Hans moved to Le Bons Bay 12 years prior to being interviewed; they were quoted in Section 8.1.3 as well.)

- #6 A very important time for me was when we'd been here four years, and it was at that time that I suddenly discovered, in a moment, that this was "home". And I don't know how to explain it. It was just a sudden realization. This was home. And it felt totally different from the way that it had before. Well, I think it was just due to time. We had moved so often before coming here that I think I had begun to feel that that was just how life was. That every two years or so you up and moved. And somehow it added up to the four-year mark. I just suddenly realized that we had really put down roots here. That was an important time. (Sally Lewis).

(Sally and David are in their late 30s, and run a small farm at the head of Le Bons Bay; they moved to the Peninsula from the United States 11 years prior to being interviewed.)



However, new residents quickly realized that their sense of place was affected by long-term residents of the Peninsula. Immigrants appeared somewhat less affected by local opposition to their "intrusion", probably because these respondents were often more socially and economically independent.

Three quotations by New Zealand women who moved on to the Peninsula describe their difficulties in becoming accepted as insiders, noting that it takes decades on the Peninsula to achieve such status. The last quotation compares the Peninsula with West Coast communities in New Zealand, showing the process a newcomer goes through to become accepted by the locals.

#### Developing Sense of Place in the face of Local Opposition

- #1 It took a long time for them [the locals] to be open to me. Don't they say you have to be on the Peninsula a long time before you can become one [a local]? I find it difficult to make friends. People make friends wherever, the Plunket groups and things like that; I belonged to the other young mothers with young children. But, I felt that I fit in better now, and I've been here all these years. (Ruth Helps).

(Ruth and Frank are in their 70s, and retired in Akaroa from pastoral farming on the Peninsula. She had moved on to the Peninsula 42 years prior to being interviewed. Her son, Francis, was also quoted in 8.1.3.)

- #2 Probably it takes about, nearly 20 years to feel as though you belong. You don't quite belong, but almost. Yes, it takes a long time. Ten-fifteen years, very much. (Lynn Thompson).

(Lynn and Bill are in their mid-40s, and live on a farm at the mouth of McQueen's Valley. She moved there 21 years prior to being interviewed.)

- #3 [in response to a question on whether she feels like an insider] It does now, but I think it took quite a long time, really, to become [an insider], to think of this as home. I think that is very much a part of . . . it's a maturity thing. (Gay Menzies).

Yes, it is very important [to feel part of the place]. But I don't think it has happened overnight. I think it has taken a long time, really. (Gay).

(Gay and Rick are in their 40s, and live in Menzies Bay. She moved there 22 years prior to being interviewed. Rick was quoted in the previous sub-section as well.)

- #4 I feel very much part of it. It's like everywhere. You really have to be born and bred to a place before you are really accepted as somebody. [I] said the other day, you've got to be here 20 years before you're accepted, and hear all kinds of theories, but I think it is just how you feel yourself . . . (Peter Higginbottom).

I feel quite strongly for the Peninsula, as we did living on the [West] Coast. We felt very much a part of being a "Coaster". And we find the Peninsula people similar to Coasters inasmuch as there seems to be a cut-off point, just where exactly I don't know, but if you are a Peninsula rat, you've got an identity . . . that's synonymous wherever you go. And, as I say . . . as a Coaster: "Once a Coaster, always a Coaster." And I think it's a very similar sort of feeling over here. (Peter).

When you go over to the [West] Coast everybody's interested as you would be, though. You know, you go into a bar and you have somebody on either shoulder very quickly because they are interested in you for finding out about you, very inquisitive. But you [go] and live in their little community, and they'd stand right back off you until you prove that you are going to meet them halfway, or a little bit more than halfway. And stay. (Peter).

You've got to be part of their scene. And they'll come back, and they're very friendly, and you get on very well. (Peter, also quoted earlier in this sub-section).

The difficulties for new residents trying to fit into Peninsula communities are illustrated in the last two quotations in this sub-section:

#5 Yes, they [the new residents] are [getting involved in the community], but I think it's hard. It takes a lot of effort, work, to make that initial meeting. It's quite complicated at times. It takes a lot of effort. I'm sure it's easier for people who have children who are at primary school, because they have all that opportunity to be in situations where they can just talk to each other. (Pip Young, a teacher in Little River, quoted as well in the previous sub-section).

#6 What you said before, the Peninsula is very insular. (Richard Evans).

Yes, you tend to think about your own little group far more than if you lived near a city or had outside . . . we don't have very many outside influences here. I think we tend to be a very closed community. Strangers find it very hard to break through that. Which is a pity. I don't think so much now as it used to be. Everybody used to say when they came to the Peninsula it took ten years to become part of it. And I don't think that's so true today. I think there's far more young people have come . . . and brought outside influence. And more tourists, too. They've tended to broaden their [the locals'] outlook, I'm sure. (Joyce Evans).

(Joyce, and her son Richard, live in Wainui. She is in her 60s, was raised there, and is now retired from farming.)

#### 8.2.4 The Effect of Rural and City Lifestyles on Sense of Place

The deep place attachment of many Peninsula respondents is clarified when it is contrasted with the mobility of urban New Zealanders in general. This sub-section will present quotations to illustrate rural respondents' attachment for their place, including spiritual feelings and feelings for their home. A motivation to remain in their place is shown by residents' deep attachment to the Peninsula, and a motivation to return is displayed by others who want to move back to the Peninsula.

This material is then contrasted with a presentation of quotations on some negative characteristics of city life. Quotations on the mobility of city people in New Zealand are then presented, which demonstrate how this behaviour, in particular, erodes a sense of place. Reference can also be made to Section 8.1.3, in which some Peninsula respondents described both city and country lifestyles in their comments.

The first sets of quotations describe the deep attachment to place that many Peninsula respondents have developed. A number of short statements are used to show how some respondents, especially older ones, feel so strongly about their place that they want to remain there until they die.

### Deep Attachment

- #1 I wouldn't want to leave. Even the stone around the fireplace came from up the hill here. No, I think I'll be here until . . . they cart me out. (Jim Hammond).

(Jim is in his late 60s, and has lived on his farm above Takamatua all his life. He was also quoted in 8.1.3.)

- #2 As far as I'm concerned, I've got no desire to leave it. (Eric Streeter).

(Eric is in his late 70s, and has always lived on his farm in McQueen's Valley. He was also quoted in 8.2.2.)

- #3 My life has been pretty well spent in Akaroa. I've contributed a fair bit to the community as a whole. My whole identity to Akaroa . . . (Jack Helps).

(Jack is in his mid-70s, and has always lived in or near Akaroa.)

- #4 I feel as though I am part of the Peninsula. I pride myself in the fact that I'm more interested in the area than most. I've got more feelings for the area, more concerned about it. The Peninsula has contributed so much towards my life. It's everything. It's here you tend to hold on to and build on, if you can. (Frank Helps).

If you stay in one place, you grow a bit of moss on you, don't you? (Frank).

It's a way of life. You get by, but you don't make much. (Frank).

(Frank is in his mid-70s and a brother of Jack; his wife was quoted in the previous sub-section.)

- #5 This is us. It's all that's left. Our ashes will be scattered here and that will be it. We've always been very secure here. Do you understand what I mean? This is us and this is the way we are . . . (Lorna McKay).

(Lorna and Clyde are in their 60s, and live in Le Bons Bay, where they have spent most of their lives; they were quoted in the sub-section 8.2.2 as well.)

- #6 My sense of place feelings are much deeper than I could ever tell you in your questions. I think that they are very important to me, I think really heart and soul stuff. So, you've just got the cover of the book. I'm not trying to hold anything back. I think you'd have to know me a lot better than you can possibly know me to understand really where I'm coming from . . . (Jeff Hamilton).

I feel about the place like I want to die here. That's if I figure I'm gonna die somewhere, it may as well be here. Maybe later on I won't care about that. In fact, what they do with me, I'd rather they have my ashes spread on these hills where I live that surround me now than go and take me to the cemetery. (Jeff).

(Jeff is in his 40s, and lives on his farm above Onuku, where he has spent most of his life. He was also quoted in 8.1.2.)

Spiritual feelings were also important to about one-third of the Peninsula respondents toward the development of their sense of place. It was difficult for respondents, especially pakeha, to describe such feelings in words; the most coherent attempts are included in the three quotations below.

### Spiritual Feelings

- #1 I feel that there is something about this particular piece of land which has strong healing quality, and over the years so many people that have come here have made the same comment, and that it's reinforced that feeling . . . I feel not that I own this place but that for at least some time in this life I am here and able to take care of it. And have it here for our friends and people that come here to recharge their batteries and get a bit of rest. I feel very spiritually tied to the place. (Sally Lewis).

(Sally and David live at the head of Le Bons Bay; they were also quoted in the previous sub-section.)

- #2 I just feel that the whole area is a very spiritual place, and it has a magic about it that I haven't really found in a lot of other places. (Fay Hill).

(Fay lives in Akaroa, and is an artist. She was also quoted in the previous sub-section.)

- #3 Ah, yes, that's the mystery of why we're attached . . . it's a spiritual thing. I mean, I notice it with a lot of Peninsula people in my position; the hell people go through to stay here, really. And there is a strong tie, a spiritual tie. You know, it's almost a feeling of . . . you know, we often say "Do we own the land or does the land own us?" That sort of sums up very much the way I feel about it. (Peter McKay; Peter has lived almost all his life in Le Bons Bay, and was quoted in sub-section 8.2.2.)

When respondents described their feelings for home, however, they were much more able to provide detailed descriptions. Newcomers often related experiences which reminded them of their home feelings; long-term residents more often thought that it's "just home". Three quotations from newcomers which illustrate their views, are followed by two from long-term residents:

### Home

- #1 I feel that when I come over the Hilltop, every time I come over the Hilltop, it's a new experience. And it's like I feel when I come over the Hilltop, I'm home. Definitely. (David Lewis; he was quoted in the previous sub-section as well.)

- #2 The simple thing is that this feels like home here, and that when I'm not here I'm not happy. (Leon Fox).

It's sort of like when you come back here, it (our home) says welcome again. (Peggy; Leon and Peggy were also quoted in 8.2.2.)

- #3 I remember when Otto was born. The first night we were all tucked up together in bed. It was raining and still and stormy. It was a really powerful feeling. He was born in Christchurch, but we had just brought him home. It was a home birth at Jenny's mother's place. We couldn't get one over here. And we stayed over there for a couple

of weeks after he was born, but we had just arrived home in a great, big storm. It really felt like home to me. (John Davey; he was also quoted in 8.1.3.)

- #4 Well, I like it because it's out in the country, and there's plenty of space, and I like hills, and trees, and the sea. Well, I suppose I like it because it's home, really. It's where you belong. (Jessie Mould).

(Jessie is in her early 70s, and is retired in Akaroa, where she has spent most of her life.)

- #5 It's just home. I've always lived here, I suppose. Well, I like living by the sea, but I never go down there unless I have to. I certainly don't mind the isolation and the peace and quiet, but I think I just take it for granted. (Bill Hall; Bill was also quoted in 8.2.2.)

The importance of sense of place to rural people is demonstrated by the numbers of them who have been away from the Peninsula, yet returned to live there. Only 12 per cent of respondents had always lived on the Peninsula (see Table 8-1); the others had lived away for at least a year, not including boarding school and war-time experiences. The perspective gained by living away, and the strong feelings for wanting to return, are shown in the next three quotations:

#### Moved Back

- #1 And, I feel that a lot of people feel a tremendous sense of place. 'Cause I think that's why so many people that come back to Akaroa. Like Jack and Cam McBrian. They've been ticking over in other occupations, waiting until they can retire and come "home" again. And I think there are an awful lot of people like that. (Peter de Latour).

(Peter is in his 60s, and had lived in the Peninsula for 42 years prior to being interviewed. His wife was quoted in sub-section 8.2.2.)

- #2 Well, I can never get back here quick enough in all the years I was away. All I could think about, you know, was, sort of, getting back. I just feel I belong. Well, yeah. Even to go to Christchurch [for a visit], I love to get back again. Well, we just about feel the Peninsula belongs to us. More or less, you know. We've got that many friends and contacts with it right throughout. It is all part and parcel of you. (Betty Phillips).

(Betty is in her mid-60s, and lived away from the Peninsula for eight years in New Plymouth; she and Johnny were quoted in 8.1.2 as well.)

- #3 There are some of us who have been away, and appreciate it more than we ever did before. It's not just us, but other people. (Robin McFarlane).

(She and her husband, Robin, both in their late 30s, lived overseas for a number of years before returning to the Peninsula; neither of them was raised there.)

As well as homesickness and the positive attributes of country life, there are also negative qualities of city life which affected return migrants' decisions. Several respondents were better able to clarify what they liked about the Peninsula by contrasting it with the qualities of urban environments. A selection of these qualities are included below, derived from interviews with Peninsula residents, and with out-migrants who now live in cities. Four sets

of quotations are used, grouped under appropriate headings. In the first two clusters, the fast pace of the city is presented, then contrasted with the open space, clean air, and safe feeling of country life:

#### Don't Like Fast Pace in City

- #1 [when we're in the city] we miss the hills, and we miss the peace and quiet, and we miss the people. We really miss the peace. The city seems really fast after here. (Joy Law).

(Joy and Ian are in their late 40s, and moved to Okains Bay six years prior to being interviewed. She has since returned to Christchurch.)

- #2 When I get to Christchurch . . . I start to wind up. (Leon Fox).

We get very tight inside. (Peggy).

I am just unhappy. (Leon).

I get a headache that starts to spread from about Tai Tapu (15 kilometers outside Christchurch), and, by the time I get home (to Onawe) from Christchurch, I'm very, very tired. And it takes some time to wind down, especially if you've spent overnight or two or three days in Christchurch. (Peggy).

(Leon and Peggy moved to the Peninsula from Christchurch three years prior to the interview; they were also quoted in 8.2.2.)

#### Like the Open Space, Clean Air, and Safe Feeling in Country

- #3 I like the, well, isolation at times. Put it that way, I love the company too, but just to get out on a nice day, out on the water fishing or out farming or something or other. And good, clean air. You go to town [Christchurch] and you get there in the early morning and you've got that smog around and stuff, and I'm [just] too happy to turn around and go home again. I've always loved nature, birds, and that sort of thing. (Gil Waghorn).

(Gil and Robin are in their 40s, and run a pastoral farm in Little Akaloa; she moved to the Peninsula from Kaiapoi, near Christchurch, 21 years prior to being interviewed.)

- #4 We don't feel hemmed-in for one thing like you do in the city. (Pat Drummond).

Oh yes, and if either of us goes out separately, you don't have to feel a great deal worried about each other as probably you would in a city. (Jack).

(Pat and Jack are in their early 70s, and retired in Akaroa. She was raised there, and he moved in 49 years prior to being interviewed.)

In the next group of quotations, the structured social life of cities is contrasted with the easy interaction between community members and a feeling of relative freedom, characteristic of country living on the Peninsula:

#### More Structure and Rules in the City

- #5 When I connect with friends in the city I'm very aware . . . that on every social occasion that there would be an age range of maybe 10 years. Living here [Duvauxchelles], our social contacts . . . the age range is a lot greater from mixing and having people come

here that are in their sort of early 20s to people that would be in their 60s, and age is not a relevant factor. I find that [in] city socializing, that age is a limiting element, whereas I think that living in an environment like this you get to know people for themselves. (Anne Overton).

(Anne and Peter run a pastoral farm above Duvauxchelles; they were quoted as well in Section 8.1.2.)

- #6 As I get older I've realized that there is a sense of order here [in Pigeon Bay] that doesn't need to be defined, whereas in the city everyone wants rules and regulations to define how they behave or how they should act or what their position is, and I don't need that now. (Brian Hay).

(Brian is in his early 30s, was raised in Pigeon Bay, and now lives in Christchurch. He travels back to his parents' home regularly.)

Most respondents also feel that there is a better sense of community on the Peninsula, and in rural areas in general as compared to cities. There has been some decline in the community spirit of outer bay communities in recent years, but Akaroa is especially strong in its spirit (see also Section 10.5). The next three quotations contrast country and city community feelings:

#### Better Sense of Community in the Country

- #7 There's a much better sense of community in a place like this (Kaituna Valley) compared with a neighbourhood in the urban sense. People who live a matter of five meters away from each other, they don't get to know them. (John Joseph).

It just doesn't happen here. You get asked to dinner. We've been to everybody's place, from as far afield as Little River to Tai Tapu. (Pat).

(Pat and her husband, John, are in their early 40s, and moved to the Peninsula from Christchurch six years prior to the interview.)

- #8 Nowadays everyone is trying to grab for themselves. Well it is in a way. I do remember everyone being so helpful [in the Peninsula]. (Anne Davison).

(Anne is in her early 70s and was raised in Pigeon Bay. She left there as a teenager, lived for many years in Culverden on the northern Canterbury Plains, and now lives in Christchurch. Her son, Frank, carries on the family farm in Pigeon Bay; he was quoted in 8.2.2.)

- #9 Everyone was like a big family, you know. Like, you come to the city here (Auckland), and you don't have that distinction . . . yeah, if you broke down, everyone, they'd stop and help you. But you find that in any country town. (Olive Wanoa).

(Olive is Irakehu and in her late 40s. She left Little River almost 30 years ago, and has lived in several New Zealand cities. She now lives in Auckland, yet she still misses the country life of the Peninsula. Her brother is Francie Robinson, an Irakehu *kaumatua* in Little River.)

The stability of country people can also be contrasted with the mobility of city people to show how the latter are less able to develop a strong sense of place. General qualities of rural living, especially the stability of rural dwellers, are pointed out in the first four quotations below:

### The Stability of Country People versus The Mobility of City People

- #1 Country people, they stay in one place a lot longer, don't they, than city people. I'm not sure if it's because they probably own a farm, or even if people work in the country. If you take just this one [example], the married couples that work on the farms, they're inclined to stay. (Roger Coop; he and his wife, Beryl, were quoted as well in 8.1.2.)
- #2 I'd say rural people [have a stronger sense of place] than city people. And probably people with an ancestral tie to the land. Certain Maori people, and farming families who have, perhaps, a claim on the land . . . and, they have strong ties. (John Davey, also quoted above in this sub-section; he has lived in both city and country.)
- #3 You see this strong sense of place more in rural areas. I have some of my family living in urban situations, and I can see that they don't have a great sense of belonging to any particular area. They can change homes in any area. (Terence Brocherie).

(Terence is in his early 60s, and has lived in French Farm all his life; he was elected Mayor of the Banks Peninsula District in late 1989.)

- #4 I think rural people . . . yes, definitely [have a strong sense of place]. They don't move like urban people for obvious reasons. But still, a lot of us [country people] will probably be in the same place all our lives. (Lynn Thompson).

I think there's no doubt that the rural people have, by necessity, well . . . you just can't be in and out of rural areas. There's such a commitment. You've got to stick with it, whether you wish to or not. Whereas in the labour market [of the city] . . . (Bill).

The rural people are more stable because they've got no option. They've got to stick with it and . . . you haven't got a liquid asset on a farm as you have with a [city] property. (Bill; Lynn lived in Christchurch prior to moving to the Peninsula; she and Bill were also quoted in the previous sub-section.)

The above sentiments are contrasted with the mobility of city dwellers in the next three quotations, by respondents who have lived in New Zealand cities:

- #5 I think it's much easier to move if you're in the city. You don't get the ties that you do when you've got some land and you've got animals and things. (Pat Joseph; she has lived in both city and country; her husband, John, was quoted above as well).
- #6 [Sense of place is not as important in the city] because they move, and I think their values are different. I think there are more commercial values, and monetary values mean more in the city. If people love the Peninsula the way we do, monetary values aren't important. (Pip Foley; Pip has lived in Christchurch previously, and was also quoted in 8.1.3).
- #7 One of the surprising sort of things that came to me after I'd left there the Peninsula] for a while . . . I came to realize that quite a few people are so transitory . . . that the far majority of people live in homes [and move around]. With the Bay [Menzies Bay], it's the other way around, with one home and several generations have been through there now. Initially as a child I thought this was the norm . . . that was what everybody did. [Now I've seen that] people who've scattered around and changed from place to place must be a bit itinerant, I suppose. (Simon Menzies).

(Simon is in his early 50s and lives in Auckland. He left Menzies Bay as a teenager, but likes returning to the Bay regularly to see family and be on the farm. His brother, Rick, was also quoted in 8.2.2.)



Because of the migration from country to city in the past few decades, many city people still retain ties with their country "homes". The importance of this is pointed out in the next three quotations.

- #1 Anyone that I know that lives in the city, my friends anyway, they identify with someone who is on the land. They may have a little secret place that they may go fishing, or, you know, go on to someone's place and go duck shooting or whatever. In Christchurch anyway they do identify with that tenure, and I think that they'd be very upset if they weren't able to do it, you know, feel that they could go out, and be a part of the countryside . . . (Brian Hay; he was quoted above as well).
- #2 It's especially obvious if you look at the way people travel for their holidays, and how many of them go home . . . [for] a lot of them, home may have only been a childhood [there]. (Pip Young; Pip has lived in Christchurch previously, and was also quoted in 8.2.2 and 8.2.3).
- #3 In all of the family in New Zealand, and we're spread right 'round, this is the centre. They all come back here. So, I'm conscious of the fact that I'm the guardian of it, to a certain extent, you know . . . there's not many Christmases when the whole family doesn't turn up here for a little bit. I've got two brothers and two sisters, so that's quite a number of them, and there'll be times during the year that they'll pop down to stay a few days with us. (Rick Menzies; Rick has family throughout New Zealand, and travels around the country often from his home in Menzies Bay due to his work as an Army officer; he was also quoted in 8.2.2).

The sub-section concludes with an overview of "those who move on" versus "those who stay put":

And you have people who stay on that place and take pride in it for generations, for 20, 30, 40 generations, and they are happy to be able to do that, and get a lot of security out of that. And then you have the other ones who don't want that security, who want to, want more excitement, adventure, differences. I don't know . . . it is important to have that feeling of belonging and have that . . . strong; it's [also] good to [have] that flexibility, and being able to follow the sun . . . (Gerd Stettner; Gerd is a German immigrant to the Peninsula, and was also quoted in 8.1.2).

There were only four or five true "adventurers" encountered among the Peninsula respondents, however: few respondents had widely travelled the world. Two of these people moved on during the course of my fieldwork, while the others seemed to have permanently "dropped anchor" when they reached the Peninsula because they liked the qualities of the place so much.

#### 8.2.5 An Assessment of Respondents' Sense of Place

From the material presented in the previous four sub-sections, several aspects of sense of place are apparent. Place attachment is perhaps the most important of these aspects, with quotations from respondents showing the depth of their place bonds for the Peninsula time and time again in different ways. These feelings are evident in what they liked in their place; deep attachment to their place; feelings of community spirit; and spiritual feelings. This last means

is especially important to Maori respondents. In addition, respondents often contrasted their rural way of life with city lifestyles to point out the value they found in living on the Peninsula, and their attachment to place.

Three other aspects not often mentioned in the academic literature but important to respondents are localized ancestry, insider feelings, and motivation to remain in the place. Localized ancestry is important to both Maori and pakeha, and provides status within the Peninsula's social world; it can also be used to block the development of newcomers' senses of place. Insider feelings are thus derived from such ancestry, and from long residence on the Peninsula. Most respondents were also highly motivated to remain living in the Peninsula, some of them to the death. The importance of Peninsula living was highlighted by the number of respondents who had lived outside the Peninsula at some point in their lives, and yet returned to live in the Peninsula once again.

These four main aspects were often inter-connected in respondents' minds to the conception of their own sense of place. And so, I joined them as one concept in statistical analyses (see below). Three other aspects are also essential to the development of respondents' senses of place, but could be separated more as causative factors than the four previously described. Increased residential status is achieved through long residence in the Peninsula, particularly if a person has been raised there and/or has lived more than half of his or her life there. Increased socioeconomic status is similarly important, as one's "place" in local society is partially determined by economic measures; a person may move on if he or she has not attained a certain level of economic security, and/or if his or her social status is insignificant. Social belonging, derived especially from community involvement and a kin/friend social network, is also bound up with the development of sense of place, and often motivates a person to remain in his or her place.

These three latter aspects are described in Chapter 9 because of their effect on the development of sense of place, while the four main aspects are used to describe respondents' "intensity of sense of place" in this chapter. A statistical description of this intensity is now presented, since it will be used often during several statistical analyses in Chapters 8 through to 10.

To determine the intensity of sense of place, an indicator for the intensity of respondents' sense of place was first developed, derived from interview responses. This indicator was based on responses to four questions: attachment to place; feelings of being an insider; importance of ancestry to the person; and motivation to remain in the place (see Table 8-3; see also Appendix 1, Question List). Each of these four variables had few categories (see Appendix 2), to parallel the limited number of categories that respondents themselves used. I also did not want to attempt to bring in more accuracy than was warranted in this measure of intensity.

The four variables were already known to be logically compatible. They were checked for statistical compatibility through a reliability test and were found to be a reliable indicator (alpha .70; standardized item alpha .70: Table 8-3). Their z scores were thus added together to form a composite indicator of respondents' intensity of sense of place.

Table 8-3 Reliability test for intensity of sense of place: Peninsula Respondents.

Variable	Item Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
motivation to stay in Peninsula	.41	.68
ancestry important	.45	.66
insider feelings	.53	.61
attachment to place	.56	.58
Reliability coefficients:	alpha .70	
	standardized item alpha .70	

Note. 1. N = 270.

The validity of using this composite measure was checked qualitatively by comparing the sum score against respondents' names: those who were transient were at the bottom of this

scale, while long-term residents who had an obvious bond to the Peninsula, confirmed as well by other Peninsula respondents, were at the top. This was a gross check, yet it logically confirmed the statistical measure of intensity of sense of place.

As both a check and to differentiate subsets of Peninsula respondents by their sense of place, intensity levels were compared between the five sub-groups of respondents described in 8.1.1 (i.e. pakeha born and raised on the Peninsula; pakeha who have moved on to the Peninsula; foreign immigrants to the Peninsula; pakeha transients; and Maori residents). Average intensity levels per sub-group were compared using oneway ANOVA. Significant differences were found between all sub-groups ( $F$  probability  $< .001$ : see Table 8-4).

Table 8-4 Oneway analysis of variance: Intensity of sense of place by Peninsula sub-group.

Sub-group	n	Intensity of Sense of Place	
		Mean	Standard Deviation
raised on Peninsula (pakeha)	126	2.09	1.65
Maori	29	1.00	2.75
moved on to Peninsula (pakeha; non-transient)	85	- .71	1.65
foreign immigrant	17	- 2.12	2.19
pakeha transient	13	- 5.65	1.40

Note. 1.  $N = 270$ ;  $F$  probability  $< .001$ .

2. Each group significantly different from all others (Duncan multiple ranges test) at  $p < .05$ .

The mean of intensity level of sense of place for pakeha transients (-5.65) was much lower than that of pakeha who were raised on the Peninsula (2.09) or Maori respondents (1.00). A histogram has been included to graphically show the differences between the most different sub-groups of respondents (Fig. 8-1). The five sub-groups will be described further in Chapters 9 and 10.

Because four variables have been used to create the measure of intensity for sense of place, this measure is more internally reliable, as a respondent may score low on one variable,

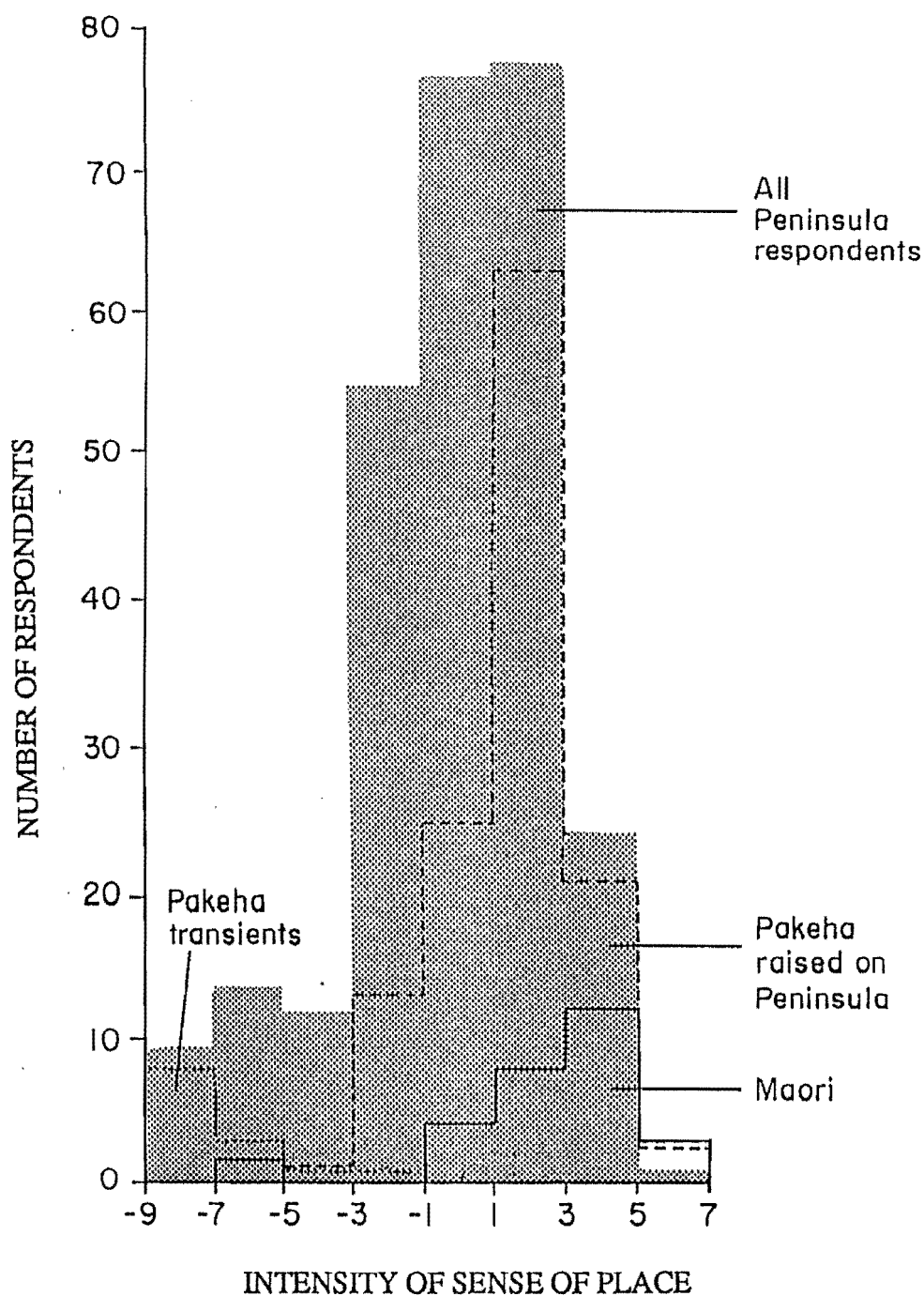


Figure 8-1: Frequency distribution of the intensity of sense of place among Peninsula respondents and sub-groups. Maori on left of diagram (between - 7 and - 5) are transients. Refer to Table 8-4 for sample sizes, and to Appendix 2 for a description of the variable, intensity of sense of place.

yet high on the other three. I have therefore employed this measure in other statistical analyses, particularly in Chapter 9. Investigations of the qualitative aspects of sense of place are essential as well, however, to better understand its character and its development among respondents. I will examine some of these qualitative aspects in the next two sections; in Chapter 10, the contexts of respondents' senses of place are also discussed.

### 8.3 Self-awareness of Sense of Place

Many respondents, were better able to perceive contextual effects on their sense of place, such as the landscape and their community, once they had spent a few years living overseas. This was especially true among pakeha, while Maori normally became aware of the significance of their own sense of place through cultural means. Virtually all resident Maori on the Peninsula realized their sense of place through the practice of culture (e.g. during *tangi*, the singing of *waiata*, and in *hui*); their realizations are described in Chapter 10, when their cultural context is discussed.

The other ways in which respondents gained perspective on their sense of place are detailed below. Nineteen per cent of Peninsula respondents had lived outside the country. Many found that the insights derived from that experience drew them back to live again in New Zealand, and then on to the Peninsula. An example of this is given below:

Yes, [we felt homesick] for the land, especially. We really missed this particular lump of land. And friends used to write, you know, from Akaroa or whatever, and you could just imagine those beautiful days when they'd be writing on a crisp autumn day or something. I had quite a longing for it. (Robin McFarlane; she was also quoted in sub-section 8.2.4).

Living away, either in New Zealand or overseas, was the most common means by which respondents became aware of their sense of place for Banks Peninsula: 18 per cent of all respondents noted this means in interviews. Two examples of realizing the importance of sense of place through living elsewhere in New Zealand are provided below:

#### Living Away in New Zealand

- #1 Probably the time I missed it most was when I first started to work on farms. And they tended to be out on the plain [Canterbury Plains], and I really yearned for the hills, and the feeling of the home, of course. (Julian Holderness; he was also quoted in 8.1.3).
- #2 I missed the family, children. There's a real security about the place. In the city, there's so many different things, and out here it's safe, you know. You can go in here and tell all your friends are here. It's laid back, it's easy-going. I missed that about this place. (Riki Tainui).

(Riki is in his early 30s, is Irakehu, and was raised in Akaroa. He left for a few years, and returned to live in Barrys Bay.)

Family crisis or illness was noted by 12 per cent of respondents as their principal means of self-realization of their sense of place. Two examples are again provided below:

#### Family Crisis

#1 When David [their son] died, it was a time . . . (Jed Foley).

Yes, I think that that's when you feel your roots are here, because you get such a tremendous response from everyone. I tend[ed] to rely on community support, but that's part of us feeling that this is home, isn't it? (Pip; Pip was also quoted in 8.1.3).

#2 When we were ill and the community came out to help, that really was a feeling of, quite happy, you ran out of words! Gosh! To think that people thought that much of us. (Paul Oliver; he was also quoted in 8.2.1)

Pausing to notice the beauty of their place was also important to 11 per cent of respondents, as Peter Thelning effectively points out below:

#### Pausing to Notice the Beauty of the Place

If you take time out to pause and just say, "Well, boy, it's easy just to stay here and not see it", you know what I mean? If you take time out, even if you're working hard and you take half an hour out, and you eat your lunch, and you look around and observe the spot. I remember one day it was lovely and fine, and the next day there was six inches of snow right across the farm. Well, a climatic change like that really makes you take notice too, you know. What a lovely spot it is. (Peter Thelning; his wife was also quoted in 8.1.2).

A recent or imminent change of property ownership heightened the awareness of eight per cent of respondents regarding their sense of place. Two sets of quotations from long-time Peninsula farmers are included for illustration:

#### Actual or Planned Change in Property Ownership

#1 I knew we had a feeling for the farm, because I remember the day we decided to sell the farm, and we knew the farm was sold, and we looked at it, and we'd think there's part of us there. (Josie Hammond).

We had to build a lot of fences, houses, trees, woolshed, (sheep) dips, yard, everything, you know. (Phil).

It means quite a bit, really. Well, even now when you look at the farm, you sort of think, "Well, you know we've built that up from nothing, really." So you do leave part of yourself behind. (Josie).

(Phil and Josie are in their late 60s, and live in Birdlings Flat; they retired recently, having run a farm nearby for almost 40 years. Phil has always lived on the Peninsula, and is a brother of Jim, who was quoted as well in 8.2.4; Josie had lived in the Peninsula for 40 years at the time of the interview.)

#2 I suppose now that it's almost time to shift, I don't particularly want to go. I don't want to go. Whereas 10 years ago I didn't have to make the decision. (Alf Thelning).

I do like it here. I also have the feelings of, you know, well, all the babies were born, well, in the local hospital, and so you've got all that feeling for the place, and [it] used to be really quite rough when we first came here. We've slowly modernized a certain amount, even though it sort of slips back as you do it. So that way I'd be sad to sort of see it go back too. I'd like to see it being kept up, the house as well as the land. (Eileen).

(Alf and Eileen are in their early 60s, and live above Laverick's Bay. He was raised there, and she moved in 39 years prior to being interviewed.)

Having a baby in a place can make the place seem more like "home" (see quotation immediately above, and the one by John Davey in 8.2.4). Violent storms, getting older, visitors' comments, and being in love were additional ways in which respondents' consciousness was raised about their place feelings. Examples of these latter three ways are presented below:

- #1 It might be at times when visitors come and they start raving about the place, and it all comes back. Ah yes, I can remember these feelings, but it's still everyday, sometime, that I'm so glad to be here. (Elke Bergkessel; her husband, Hans, was also quoted in 8.1.3).
- #2 When I've been in love, I suppose. That sense of, that spiritual sense is heightened, of course, when you are feeling, when your sensitivity is heightened. (Steve Lowndes; Steve was also quoted in 8.1.2).
- #3 I suppose there's a feeling of belonging. In later years you sort of think about it more, things you took for granted as a child. (Pat Drummond; Pat and her husband, Jack, were also quoted in 8.2.4)

About one-third of the respondents had realized the depth of their sense of place through the various means described in the preceding paragraphs, with those who had moved on to the Peninsula more often aware of the Peninsula's good qualities and their (growing) sense of place than those raised there. However, the recent drought, economic recession, Ngai Tahu land claims, and controversy over the Peninsula's boundaries during local government reform tended to heighten all respondents' awareness of sense of place while my fieldwork was ongoing.

Prior to my fieldwork I thought that artists might have more awareness of their sense of place than did other people. However, once the comments from 21 local artists and craftspeople were examined, including a group meeting with 6 artists, I determined that such people had a greater sensitivity to the environment, but this did not necessarily translate into a greater awareness of their sense of place. Also, they seldom linked the practise of their arts and crafts to the development of their sense of place.



And so, in a multitude of ways respondents became aware of their own sense of place and its significance to their lives. The territorial feelings that they developed for the Peninsula paralleled the development of their sense of place. These feelings will be described in the next section, together with a description of the spatial extent of respondents' senses of place.

#### 8.4 The Territoriality and Spatiality of Respondents' Senses of Place

A territorial view of place is common to many cultures. On the Peninsula this view is well developed, owing to the Peninsula's topography and the long inhabitation of the Peninsula's two cultures. The movements of people through space, both within and beyond their region, have a major effect on the extent of their place ties. These movements are also linked to age development, with younger male adults the most mobile group, especially farm labourers and those who are active in sports. These two aspects of sense of place - territoriality and spatiality - are thus linked. They are described in turn in the following two sub-sections.

##### 8.4.1 Territorial Feelings for the Peninsula

The topography of the Peninsula provides easy distinction of boundaries for insider/outsider divisions, thus boosting local feelings of place identity. There is an "us" versus "them" sentiment between city and country life maintained in most Peninsula respondents' minds (see Sub-section 8.2.4). Christchurch is part of their "home range", with regular trips made there, but it is still not their "place", except for a few ex-Christchurch residents. Instead the local place, where the greater part of respondents' lives "take place", is their territorial stronghold. That local place, largely defined by topography, is the centre of insider and territorial feelings, resulting as well in a great deal of parochialism:

I think it's the hills, and the security of the hills, how they seem to . . . I've come to appreciate [the hills], after coming away from the Australian states, and coming and seeing the ruggedness of the hills [of Banks Peninsula], which I didn't tend to think were rugged before. They can tend to get very parochial [the people here] . . . they can only see their own valley. (Stewart Miller).

(Stewart is a farmer, in his early 50s, who has lived in McQueens Valley, for most of his life; he was also quoted in 8.1.2.)

The importance of Peninsula topography is explained by Steve Lowndes, Curator of the Akaroa Museum, below:

I think the place itself [Banks Peninsula], the land, will continue to dominate simply because of the geographical nature of the place. It's separate from the Plains and from

Christchurch, and I think it will probably remain so for quite a while yet. (Steve was quoted in 8.1.2 as well).

Territoriality is very evident in pakeha respondents' comments about their place:

This is my place. As I said, I'm . . . you meet so many people in New Zealand today who don't really know where they belong . . . well, I really feel I belong here. My roots are here. I feel I have a right to be here and defend it very, very strongly. One can't hark back to one's ancestry in another country when it's based on several countries, can one? So this is definitely my place. (Jed Foley).

(Jed and Pip are in their early 50s and late 40s, respectively; they run a pastoral farm in Robinson's Bay, and Pip teaches school in Okains Bay; Pip was also quoted in 8.1.3.)

Maori respondents are also territorial because of their culture: the Irakehu are the *tangata whenua* of the Peninsula. However, the Irakehu have had their *hapu* strength reduced in three ways: first by the ravages of Te Rauparaha in the 1830s; second by the high mortality through disease in the early decades of this century; and third through the out-migration of the 1960s onwards, as Maori sought work in the cities (see Chapter 7).

The tribal *mana* is maintained by resident Irakehu and out-migrants, who travel to the Peninsula often from Christchurch. The resident ones, particularly the *kaumatua*, "keep the home fires burning"; in Maori terminology these people are the *Ahi Kaa*, who are both born within their tribal boundaries and who have always lived on their *turangawaewae* (Minhinnick, 1989, 3). Maurice Gray, an Irakehu who was raised on the Peninsula and now lives in Christchurch, has contributed to the revitalization of Maori spirit on the Peninsula. He has stated (Gray, 1990) that Irakehu feelings of territoriality have become stronger through external influences: first through Te Rauparaha's raids; second through the restoration of Peninsula *marae* as a result of the *Tu Tangata* (the people stand tall) programme of the Maori Affairs Department; and third through the gatherings of Ngai Tahu *kaumatua* at several *marae* in the South Island for the Ngai Tahu land claims, and at Dunedin and Christchurch for the Te Maori exhibition of artefacts (see also Section 10.3). However, the pakeha domination of the Peninsula since the 1840s, both economically and in population, has meant that pakeha territoriality has been more visible since then.

Territorial feelings among pakeha on the Peninsula were stronger in the past, according to elderly residents. Prior to World War 2 the Peninsula was only reached by boat, making individual bay communities that much more isolated and independent than at present. Due to a different economy then (see Chapter 7), the population was also higher. Besides

insider/outsider division between Peninsula and Plains or city and country, there were further distinctions between adjacent bay communities, which carry on to some extent today. Rivalries were often based on sports teams; with the population decline, only Peninsula-wide teams now exist for many sports.

Territoriality carries on as a strong feature of Peninsula society today. Any major change to the local order is perceived as a threat by long-term Peninsula residents, Maori and pakeha. Common targets for hostilities aired during both formal and informal parts of interviews included the Labour Government, largely due to their removal of farm subsidies and their creation of the current economic recession; the "townies" who come to the Peninsula each summer, using it as a recreational playground with little regard for the feelings of locals; and "dole people" or "alternative lifestylers" who have recently taken up residence on the Peninsula (see Section 9.1.1).

However, some short-term (new) respondents, pakeha and Maori, thought that tourism and new craftspeople were a good thing, bringing in new ideas and vitality. This was the exception rather than the rule among respondents raised on the Peninsula. Farmers are not only a minority on New Zealand now; in the rural Peninsula, because of the intrusion of large numbers of holiday makers in summer, many local farmers also feel that they are "strangers" in their own place during summer holiday times. They often prefer to stay at home rather than "lose" themselves in the midst of the tourist "hordes" (see also Section 10.5).

Relatively minor changes to the cultural landscape to accommodate "outsiders", particularly tourists, are thus seen as threatening to some Peninsula respondents. Their resistance to change, derived from a "peninsula or islander mentality" is described by one respondent:

[I] realized when we came here that a lot of the thinking and business attitudes and social attitudes have been left behind in the 1950s, and it was a bit of a struggle to kind of slow up the pace or the expectations a bit to fit into the local attitudes, they're still very strong. The Akaroa male - Friday, Saturday - goes to the pub, gets drunk, falls down . . . instead of going and having a social drink and a discussion, there's a case of how much can I drink and "Gee, that was a good night, I can't remember a thing about it" . . . that had been left behind [in the city, where he had come from], in my estimation, but it was still very strong here. We nicknamed that attitude "the insular Peninsula", which has spread throughout Akaroa, and is used commonly by people. (Paul Oliver).

(Paul and Raewyn lived in Akaroa for seven years prior to being interviewed. They have since moved to Queensland. He was also quoted in 8.2.1.)

Perhaps, though, Peninsula respondents have justification to resist a change to the character of "their" place: the effects of place change may be devastating if left unchecked.

In recent years modern transportation systems and availability of automobiles; increased communications through telephone, visitors, and television; and an influx of new residents and holidaymakers have all contributed to the erosion of territorial feelings and insider/outsider divisions in the Peninsula. However, territoriality persists among residents, dominating both social life and the appearance of the cultural landscape there.

#### 8.4.2 The Spatial Extent of Place Ties

The spatial extent of respondents' place ties was found to be affected by the Peninsula's topography; where they lived (and had lived) in the Peninsula; where they most frequently travelled to; their age group; and their culture. The majority of Peninsula respondents were tied to the Peninsula (56 per cent), with one-third of these respondents also expressing a feeling for the Peninsula (see Table 8-5). Only 18 per cent of respondents were tied solely to their "local place" (i.e. a small portion of the Peninsula, such as a valley). Twenty per cent of respondents were also tied to the "region" which includes Banks Peninsula, Lyttelton Harbour, the greater Christchurch area, and the outskirts of Christchurch from Rangiora to Leeston (see Fig. 7-4).

Table 8-5 The spatial extent of Peninsula respondents' senses of place.

Tied to Local Place in Peninsula	Tied to Peninsula	Tied to Peninsula and Canterbury	Tied to Peninsula and South Island	Tied to a Place Outside Peninsula
18	56	20	3	3

Note. N = 270. Expressed as a percentage of total.

However, defining respondents' spatial feelings for place was difficult, in that the "Peninsula" invariably meant the outer Peninsula and Little River/Birdlings Flat/Southern Bays to residents who lived in the outer Peninsula (216 respondents: see Fig. 7-4). About 10 per cent of these respondents ended the Peninsula at the Hilltop, with a similar number ending it at

Kaituna Valley/Port Levy. The respondents who lived to the west of the Hilltop (54 respondents) expanded the Peninsula's boundaries to include the place where they lived, although Lyttelton Harbour or the Port Hills, bounding Christchurch on the east, were never included as part of the Peninsula, except by Irakehu *kaumatua*. A few respondents who lived near Motukarara also did not think that they were in the Peninsula, nor in a well-defined area:

We're on the edge, really. We're neither the Peninsula nor anything else. We're sort of out on a limb there. (Beryl Coop).

As far as community spirit goes, we're just in the middle of nowhere. We don't go to Christchurch to join in things, and we don't go to the Peninsula and join in things. We're flat somewhere in the middle. (Roger).

(Roger and Beryl are in their late 40s; they farm land on the edge of the Plains between Motukarara and Kaituna Valley. They were also quoted in 8.1.2.)

On the Plains edge, and in between town sites, it was difficult for some respondents to define their own "place". For the majority of Peninsula residents, though, the folded topography gave them ample means for definition, as did the shape of the Peninsula itself.

I did not think that gender or racial status would have an effect on the spatial extent of place ties. This supposition was confirmed when gender and race were compared with the spatial extent of place feelings in separate oneway ANOVA analyses: no significant differences were found. Another oneway ANOVA analysis was used to compare the spatial extent of place ties between respondents who had moved on to the Peninsula (non-immigrant/non-transient) with those who had been raised there; again no significant difference was found between these two groups. When spatial extent of place was correlated with the composite variable for intensity of sense of place in a Pearson's correlation, a weak correlation was found ( $r$  .26;  $p < .001$ ), demonstrating that there is little influence from this variable on the development of sense of place.

Tabulations were used to see whether travel patterns affected the spatial extent of place ties; complex statistical tests were not necessary to note these patterns. I found that the majority of residents travelled mostly in their local area (71 per cent), with 22 per cent widely travelling the Peninsula (see Table 8-6). When past travel patterns were analyzed, a further 11 per cent of respondents were seen to have widely travelled the Peninsula when they were younger. The travel patterns for trips to town (Christchurch) were examined as well, since these travels could form strong links and affect the extent of place ties. Those who lived in the

outer Peninsula travelled much less often into Christchurch with most going there at a rate of once every two weeks or month (see Table 8-6). For those who lived west of the Hilltop, however, a very different pattern emerged. This group did not have difficult topography to deal with on their trips (except for Port Levy residents), and lived at a much shorter distance to Christchurch. The majority (61 per cent) travelled to Christchurch often (at least 1/week), with many of the respondents commuting there to work (see Table 8-6).

Table 8-6 Frequency of trips to Christchurch by Peninsula location.

Frequency of Trips to Christchurch		1 per week	1 per 2 weeks	1 per month	less often
n = 214	Live in Outer Peninsula	14	35	40	11
n = 56	Live West of Hilltop	61	24	11	4

Note: N = 270. Frequency expressed as a percentage of total for each sub-group.

The interesting point about these trips to town is that Peninsula respondents, although they make regular trips to Christchurch, still do not usually feel it to be part of their "place". Only 20 per cent of all Peninsula respondents were tied to the "region" (which included the Peninsula and Christchurch), and this figure actually decreased when only respondents to the west of the Hilltop were analyzed (down to 9 per cent of total). The very different quality of plains and city probably affected respondents' assessments, with those living within commuting distance not wanting to live in the city, and thus not feeling it was part of their "place".

When the 29 Maori respondents were separately analyzed, only 27 per cent of this total appeared to have stronger feelings for their Maori *hapu*, which stretches from Taumutu to Rapaki and thence eastwards (see Fig. 7-4). On closer examination, it was seen that the 19 resident Irakehu felt strongly for their *hapu* most often: 42 per cent of these 19 respondents

had a culturally-based definition for their place ties. Two of the Irakehu *kaumatua* also expressed strong feelings for the entire Ngai Tahu tribal region, which embraces most of the South Island (see Fig. 6-2).

And so, the spatial extent of respondents' place ties varied with the location of their home; with their age group; with their travel patterns; and with their culture. In repeated travels around the Peninsula and nearby environs, the action space of respondents was defined. This action space changed somewhat through the years as respondents aged, but less-frequently visited sites were still well remembered. The sense of place of respondents was partially defined by such travels, and also by the Peninsula's topography and social character. Territoriality also built up over years of residence, and was tied to the action space where respondents regularly roamed. However, Christchurch and the Canterbury Plains were excluded from most respondents' spatial definition of their sense of place, even though they travelled there regularly. It was the special qualities of the Peninsula instead which had become part of respondents' lifeworlds, tending to both characterize and limit the spatial range of their sense of place.

### 8.5 Summary

Sense of place was found to be a personal feeling among respondents which is developed within a social and environmental context. It is unique to individuals, as Eyles (1985, 132) has said, but there are also similarities among groups of people. People who live in the Peninsula tend to cluster into groups, especially insiders and outsiders, with the insiders - those raised on the Peninsula - stereotyping outsiders as intruders into "their" place. Group influences on those raised there are thus strong, passing down through the generations (e.g. from father to son) and being a feature of school childrens' lives as well (see also Section 10.4).

Most respondents like the Peninsula as a place to live, with many of them having lived elsewhere for a period of time before returning to settle there. Qualities such as the sea, nature, panoramic views, mild climate, close communities and proximity to Christchurch make the Peninsula the best place to live in their minds. During the first few years of residence, new residents, especially immigrants, are well aware of these qualities. They first feel affection for the Peninsula, and, over a number of years, develop strong place bonds. Those who are raised

on the Peninsula are not as self-conscious about their sense of place, and are happy just to live in such a beautiful place. Of these respondents, pakeha become more aware through living away for a period of time, while Maori gradually deepen their place feelings through the practice of culture.

Many respondents who were raised on the Peninsula, Maori and pakeha, could be thus be typified as "existential insiders" using Relph's (1976, 55) terminology, where "a place is experienced without deliberate and self-conscious reflection, yet is full of significance". Older respondents who had lived in the Peninsula for many decades tended to take their sense of place more for granted than younger ones or newly returned migrants. However, Relph's terminology is not completely appropriate, since at least one-third of the respondents are quite aware of their sense of place, while others became aware momentarily during such local issues as Maori land claims, an economic recession, drought, and local government restructuring.

Strong insider status also played a fundamental role in the development of newcomers' senses of place: new residents were partially "blocked out" from insider activities until they had "proved themselves" through long residence and community involvement. Affecting all Peninsula respondents' sense of place was their social position, although this effect was less pronounced among foreign immigrants, with insider and outsider divisions based primarily on localized ancestry. For example, a mother who moved to the Peninsula could feel less an insider than her daughter who was born there, although both had lived there the same length of time.

Most respondents had an intimate knowledge of their place, and identified themselves with the local environment (see Lynch, 1960), developing feelings of territoriality after years of residence. This territoriality is aided by the Peninsula's physical distinctiveness, and through its various natural enclosures (see Norberg-Schulz, 1977; see also Hay, 1986, on topographical bounds). The landscape is very "legible" and easy to recognize (see Lynch, 1978; Tuan, 1977): placelessness was thus not a feature of the Peninsula, either as a visual or attitudinal characteristic (see Relph, 1976). Alexander's phenomenological definition of place as "a centre of collective or individual meaning" (in Dovey, 1985a, 94-95) is appropriate to respondents' territorial views.



Territorial feelings and sense of place are intertwined, with each bolstering the other. Respondents made distinctions between city and country often in the interviews, and even though they often travelled to Christchurch, it was not normally part of the spatial extent of their sense of place. Travels around the Peninsula aid in the development of familiarity of one's place, and also in the development of sense of place (see Hay, 1986; Horton and Reynolds, 1969). The pakeha expression of territoriality in the Peninsula, however, has been more often noticed than Maori territoriality for almost 150 years due to pakeha dominance of economic matters, and their much higher population.

The composite variable that I developed to describe the intensity of Peninsula respondents' sense of place is made up of respondents' feelings of insider status, place attachment, motivation to remain there, and importance of having localized ancestry. This composite covers the most important aspects of sense of place mentioned by respondents, and is more reliable than a single indicator. I also took into account other residents' effects on a respondent's sense of place through the inclusion of insider status. This is more appropriate in a rural setting which has a small population, as a person develops his or her sense of place in context there, with great effect by the community, and by residents if the person had recently moved in.

In summary, this chapter has provided a detailed review of various aspects of Peninsula respondents' senses of place. The composite variable which I devised will be used often in the next chapter, when I examine the development of sense of place from an individual point of view. Contextual effects on the development of respondents' senses of place are discussed in Chapter 10.

## CHAPTER 9

### THE DEVELOPMENT (AND LOSS) OF RESPONDENTS' SENSES OF PLACE

The development of a person's sense of place is complex. Personal choice, qualities of the place, social and cultural context of the person, and that person's past heritage are all involved, as are qualities of the physical environment. In addition, sense of place normally develops strongly in people who are born in and remain in the same place for decades, and among those who become involved in their community in some way. People who move often tend to have a weaker sense of place. Also, once a person moves away, unless that move is forced or temporary, feelings for the past place can more easily fade, to become nostalgic memories after many years.

Sense of place develops both from individual and contextual points of view, with the latter view more appropriate to Maori who are connected with their culture. The individual view can be divided conceptually into three general stages: the embryonic stage, when sense of place is just developing; the commitment stage, when a person has decided to remain in his or her place permanently; and the culmination stage, when a person feels part of his or her place. These stages will be used in this chapter for general structure; the latter two stages are examined in less detail here, as they were well covered through the description of respondents' sense of place in Chapter 8.

In this chapter I use two primary themes - the development of sense of place and the lessening and loss of sense of place - as related to the individual. These themes became apparent during assessment of respondents' data, as did a number of subsidiary themes. Subsidiary themes will be described as they are introduced. The first section of the chapter examines development of sense of place among Peninsula respondents, and covers the bulk of the chapter; the second section reviews the lessening and loss of sense of place, focussing on Peninsula out-migrants.

Because the basis of this presentation is respondents' senses of place for Banks Peninsula, feelings for other places are seldom noted. Maori sense of place is more contextually than individually developed: hence it will be discussed in Chapter 10. Logical inference is used often in this chapter to show inter-relationships between clusters of data, both qualitative and quantitative. Quotations are employed to illustrate certain points in the chapter qualitatively; tabulations and statistical analyses are used to demonstrate quantitative trends in the data, highlighting particular aspects of respondents' senses of place. By the close of this chapter an understanding of how individual respondents develop - and perhaps lose - a sense of place will emerge, based on the inter-weaving of quantitative and qualitative analyses and interpretations. This understanding will be put into several larger contexts in Chapter 10.

## 9.1 The Development of Sense of Place

An important subsidiary theme became evident in my early analyses of respondents' data: I grouped Peninsula respondents into several different types of sense of place, based on its development (see Fig. 9-1). These clusters are: superficial sense of place, including tourists and transients (temporary residents who live in the Peninsula); partial sense of place, for long-term campers, holiday home owners, resident children; personal sense of place, to describe permanent residents who have moved on to the Peninsula (immigrants and pakeha who are not transients); ancestral sense of place, for adults raised on the Peninsula; and cultural sense of place, covering resident Maori. Each successive stage of sense of place in this list may subsume the stages that come before it except the final stage, which applies only to Maori.

The first four sub-sections are used to describe superficial, partial, personal, and ancestral sense of place; cultural sense of place is described in Chapter 10. The next sub-section then relates the aging and maturation processes of respondents to the development of their sense of place, as this process helps to explain much of that development. The section concludes with a statistical examination of Peninsula respondents' senses of place.

### 9.1.1 Superficial Sense of Place

Tourists and pakeha transients were grouped in this cluster. Because of their ethnic origin, Maori transients were grouped with people of their own culture; their condition of

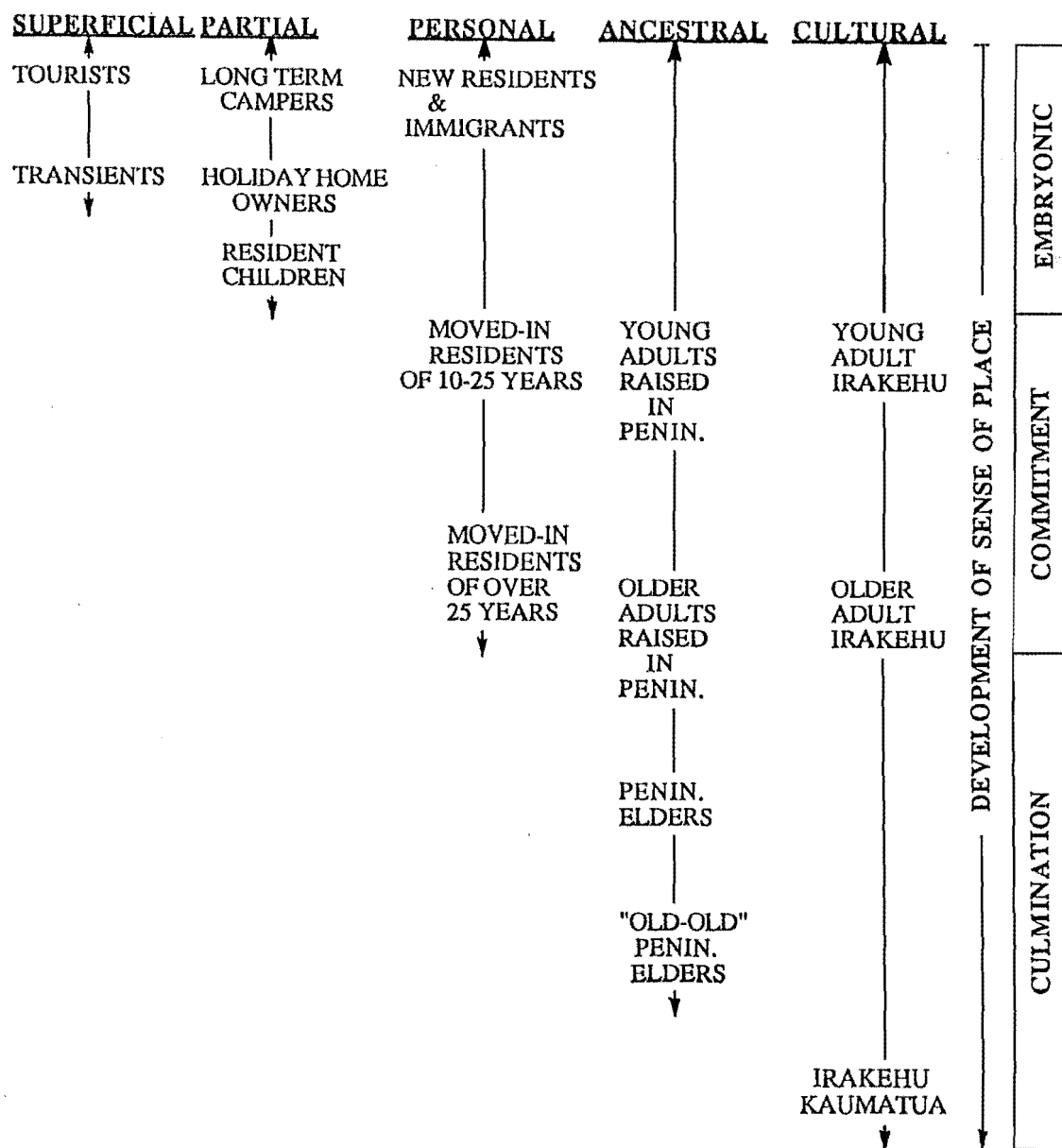


Fig. 9-1 Types of respondents' senses of place by development.

transience is briefly described here. At the outset of my fieldwork I thought that tourists and pakeha transients might have only a superficial sense of place, but I needed to confirm this supposition, to see how they fitted into the social world of the Peninsula as a whole. Their sense of place for the Peninsula was thus at issue: they may have had strong feelings for their place outside the Peninsula (tourists) or for their former place (transients), but their feelings for the Peninsula will be described here. Those feelings are often of an aesthetic nature, appreciating the scenic qualities and amenities of the Peninsula. Bonds to the Peninsula are either weak or absent, although they may yet develop further.

Tourists were interviewed in Akaroa in February 1989. I used a short list of questions (see Appendix 1), and selected people for my sample at random. Thirty tourists were interviewed in total in this way: 21 pakeha tourists from the Christchurch region, and nine international visitors. Two additional Maori visitors, both Irakehu, were interviewed at other times. The average length of stay of tourists was one day, with pakeha from Christchurch saying that they visited the Peninsula once or twice per year. The qualities of the Peninsula most liked were listed in Table 8-2, and include its scenery, peaceful atmosphere, seaside setting and historic townscape. Pakeha tourists also liked the drive into Akaroa along the main highway from Christchurch.

Tourists only intended to briefly visit the Peninsula; and so, their sense of place for the Peninsula was either superficial or non-existent. One international tourist who had stayed with a farm family for two weeks spoke of an affection for the Peninsula. On the other hand, the two Irakehu had a stronger bond to the Peninsula, primarily developed through tribal connections there.

I considered the pakeha transients to be temporarily resident in the Peninsula, because, of the 13 in total who were interviewed, seven said that they would move on, three said they might move on, and only three said they would not move. Six of the 13 were in term employment positions in the Peninsula as a teacher, pastor or farm labourer, and all 13 were living in rental accommodation as well. Of the three who said they would not move, two have moved since they were interviewed, whereas six of the seven who said they would move have done so, with the last person planning to move soon. All of these moves out took place over a period of 12 months from the time of interview.

The six who said they would move also said that they had stronger ties for their former place of residence, outside the Peninsula. One transient who moved away has since moved back to the Peninsula. Transients had an average length of residence of one and a half years at the time of interview. Four had no attachment for the Peninsula, seven had a weak attachment, and the other two were moderately attached. Although transients were interviewed and tape-recorded as part of my Peninsula sample, their sense of place is not described through quotations because their answers were normally very brief. They most often merely answered "no" to questions on their attachment to place, or said something to the effect of "not really attached", although a few did like some of the Peninsula's scenic and community qualities and had feelings for their own home.

Of the three Maori transients, two had no ties to the Peninsula, while one had moderate ties. All three still had a Maori sense of place for their former tribal homeland. One of those with no place feelings for the Peninsula has since moved, with the others remaining, partly because of marital ties (to other transients). The average length of residence for these Maori transients was one and a half years.

Out of all 16 transients (Maori and pakeha), one pakeha and one Maori said that they had no ties to any place, past or present. Transients also had few social connections with their place: they had no kinship network (except their own nuclear families or partners), few friends among the local residents, and little to no involvement in the local community. When the group of 13 pakeha transients was compared to four other sub-groups of respondents in the Peninsula, the transients had the lowest mean for intensity of sense of place (-5.65: see Table 8-4).

Transients were included in statistical analyses of the Peninsula sample to make my cross-section of respondents complete, and because six of the 13 transients remain living in the Peninsula. The effect of transients' data on my statistical results is reviewed in Sub-section 9.1.6, with additional discussion in Section 10.1.

Long-term residents of the Peninsula did not appreciate transients in their midst, especially in Okains Bay. In this small community of 32 households, one-quarter of the houses were occupied by transients, known by the locals as "dole people" due to their

dependence on State welfare. I interviewed all permanent households in Okains Bay to get an idea of the sense of community and its effect on sense of place.

Over 90 per cent of the long-term Okains residents resented the presence of transients in their community, as they believed that these temporary residents disrupted the traditional social structure, and contributed little to community life. Comments from three interviews with resident respondents highlight that this sentiment is a Peninsula-wide feeling among long-term residents, although all do not subscribe to it:

- #1 There's a lot of them that come out here [to Okains Bay] with a broken marriage, you know they're not getting on. They think if they get out here they'll be able to sort it all out, which is exactly the opposite . . . (Gregg Cartwell).

They probably think it's much cheaper living in the country. (Raewyn Cartwell).

There's two families here that are on the dole . . . both families have got kids at school, and if there's anything to do with school or a working bee or anything, you never see 'em. Yet I would think if there was anything wrong with the school they'd be the first ones to complain. And they won't do a thing to help. (Gregg Cartwell).

(Raewyn and Gregg had been shopkeepers in Okains Bay for two and a half years when I interviewed them. They have since left the Peninsula themselves.)

- #2 They come to Akaroa because it is a nice place to live. There's no work and I'm afraid they know darn well there's no work and that's why they stay here. 'Cause they still can go on the dole. They just cause problems I'm afraid. (Alan Reid).

This has happened in the last year. In a lot of cases these people are not our problem. They've arrived from Christchurch. It is a Christchurch problem, arriving [in Akaroa because of] our [good] lifestyle, you know. They're not our kids, they're not our relations. They've come from a different part of the country. That's what upsets us a bit. (Alan Reid).

. . . you get one house in and it upsets the whole structure, and some of them [Akaroa residents] are getting quite upset about it. 'Cause these people aren't ratepayers either. They're not buying the property. They may be here for six months, or a year. It is not as if they want to be part of the community. That's what hurts. (Alan Reid).

(Alan is a local fisherman, in his late 40s, and was raised in Akaroa; he is heavily involved in the Akaroa community.)

- #3 They [the transients] won't help in the church and they won't help with anything in the district. They're only here to make money and push everybody aside. (Pam de Pass).

They don't stay long enough to get to know them. And you just get to know them and they'll pack up and leave. (Pam de Pass).

(Pam is a resident of Kaituna Valley and in her 60s; she was raised there, and is very involved in her community.)

These comments show the negative attitudes that exist toward transients. Such attitudes may not be pleasant, but they are a feature of the Peninsula's social world, as is the disruption to traditional farming life caused by transients. These phenomena have not developed recently

either; in the distant past there had been cocksfoot grass harvesters, fence menders, loggers and shearers living in Bay communities for short periods of time. I was often told by residents that these past transients were not resented as much as the present type, as the transients of the past took part in some aspects of community life, provided a necessary service, and "knew their place" at the bottom end of the social hierarchy. Because the present type of transients are resented, though, they tend to be "blocked" from developing their own sense of place for the Peninsula (see also 8.2.3).

Many of the "dole people" have come to the Peninsula from cities primarily for the cheap house rentals and the quiet, country lifestyle. Most of the transients told me that they had little or no intention of becoming part of a small Peninsula community, or of developing a sense of place. The part that they play in the community is small, with social problems - as perceived by long-term residents - occurring regularly through wild parties with "townie" friends, an increase in crime and drug use. Transients know they are different from residents, and often feel like aliens in the Peninsula. A statement by one transient, who moved out and has since moved back shows her feelings of being different:

Geographically I could fit in wherever I want to, but I chose not to associate with the people . . . they detract from the environment . . . I'm completely different: I'm vegetarian, I have all those modern sins; in fact, I feel like an "alien" from a foreign planet with a completely different background . . . I do! (Christina Lamplough).

(Christina is an artist from Auckland, in her 30s, and had only been living in Okains Bay for six months when I interviewed her.)

Because she liked the Peninsula environment, though, and saw it as a good place for her son to go to school, she returned.

Transients' social connections with long-term residents are minimal, and are not likely to improve greatly unless transients conform to rural codes of behaviour. Without such connections, their out-migration is probable after a short term of residence, as they would have little social belonging to foster a sense of place. Transients are also less likely to develop a sense of place for the Peninsula, since they often have made up their minds that they are only temporary residents there. A few had no ties to any place, and most had an extensive history of mobility.

And so, pakeha transients' senses of place were fairly superficial, although some had a degree of affection for the Peninsula. Maori transients were more tied to the Peninsula on



average, but because of the small number who were interviewed, strong conclusions cannot be made. Maori visitors were also more bonded to the Peninsula, since they are Irahēhu and have relations and heritage there. Tourists on the other hand have either a superficial or a non-existent sense of place for the Peninsula due to their brief encounters with it.

### 9.1.2 Partial Sense of Place

I placed long-term campers, holiday home owners, and resident children in this cluster, because their senses of place for the Peninsula were developing, but still weak. The material in this sub-section will demonstrate how resident children are the most likely to develop a stronger sense of place in the future. The information presented in the next two sub-sections also supports this view.

Twenty long-term campers were interviewed at the Okains Bay campsite in January 1989. All of the campers interviewed came from the Christchurch region. Two of them were former residents of Okains Bay. The campers were called "long-term" because on average they had been coming to the Bay each summer for the past twenty years, with one man camping there for the past 35 years. Another had camped at Le Bons Bay before shifting to Okains Bay; together with his Okains Bay experience, he had been camping for 63 years in these two bays!

The average length of stay for campers was one month, with "tent cities" set up in Okains for maximum convenience (Photo 9-1 shows the Okains Bay campground from overhead). The campground tends to be filled to capacity from Christmas to early January (400 campers), with people often reserving up to one year in advance to stay there at that time.

All of the campers expressed an attachment to the camping area of Okains Bay, but none said that they would want to move to the Peninsula permanently. None were involved in any of the Okains Bay community activities, but 55 per cent reported that they liked knowing the locals. The beach and the peaceful, seaside atmosphere were liked the most; campers also said that the campsite was "good for the kids", and that they enjoyed the network of long-time campers there (see Table 8-2). The experience of staying in the same, beautiful location each summer had an effect on campers' children, with children often continuing the camping pattern set by their parents as they themselves grew into adults.

Holiday home owners represented a more permanent form of annual migration to the Peninsula, at an increased level of personal investment. Two-thirds of the homes in the Akaroa

area are used as holiday homes, with the Peninsula population more than tripling each summer as these bach owners return for their vacations. Sixteen holiday home owners were interviewed in January 1989: 11 in Akaroa and another three in Okains Bay. In 1988 I interviewed three Ngai Tahu holiday home owners (one in Birdlings Flat and two in Port Levy) and three pakeha (two in Okains Bay and one in Akaroa). Only the interviews in 1988 and one in 1989 were tape-recorded.



Photo 9-1: Okains Bay camping ground, situated among radiata pines near the beach.

The average length of residence was 20 years, although the stay in their holiday homes was usually only one month each summer, with some also going to the Peninsula regularly on weekends throughout the year. One Akaroa owner was from Ashburton (160 kilometers distant on the Canterbury Plains), while the remainder came from the Christchurch region. Four of the respondents had previously been resident in the Peninsula (three pakeha and one Maori).

A strong attachment to place was expressed by 70 per cent of holiday home owners, while 20 per cent had a moderate attachment. The remainder had a weak attachment. An interesting finding was that those with no ancestry in the Peninsula (12 respondents) were only

tied to their local place or to their home. Those with Peninsula ancestry were tied in equal numbers to either the Peninsula or to their local place.

The importance of localized ancestry to the development of sense of place is shown by the following analysis. None of the holiday home owners without Peninsula ancestry were intending to move to the Peninsula later, whereas among those with ancestry, one Maori had plans to move to Port Levy soon, and two pakeha were considering Okains Bay for retirement. Those with ancestry felt part of the Peninsula scene as well, with two of the Maori respondents involved in community activities. Only one holiday home owner without localized ancestry felt part of the local community, mostly because she was a second-generation holiday home owner, and had been going to Akaroa regularly since early childhood.

Common qualities liked about their place included ocean-based recreation, peacefulness, scenery, "good for the kids", climate, the view and the amenities of Akaroa (see Table 8-2). The only notable dislikes were too many day-trippers and campers in summer: this is a curious finding among people who were holidayers themselves. Two sets of quotations from holiday home owners, the first from pakeha and the second from an Irakehu, show the extent of their affection for their vacation area:

- #1 It's just a wonderful place . . . I like everything: the sea, the colour . . . (Diana Goldsborough).

Frosts aren't so severe [as in Methven], so we can grow a lot of the more sub-tropical things. (Guy).

It's a peaceful place . . . this place, unlike a lot of other New Zealand towns, has an air to it, to the look of the place. (Diana).

It's quite a good community. (Guy).

You can find that in any small town in New Zealand, but this place is special . . . it has a magic about it. (Diana).

(Guy and Diana are in their early 70s, and moved to the Peninsula permanently a little over two years previous to the interview; they had been going to their holiday home in Akaroa for 17 years prior to their move.)

- #2 There is a peace and solitude there [in Port Levy], for me in particular. There's feelings there that you just can't explain . . . there's [Maori] feelings there that I have for the place. [And] It's just a nice place to be. There's fishing there, *kai moana* [seafood] there . . . you can say that I enjoy all of those sort of things. (Charles Crofts).

(Charles is in his mid-40s and lives in Christchurch; he travels regularly to Port Levy, where he is heavily involved in the *marae*. He is considering a permanent move on to the Peninsula.)

Six of the 270 respondents in my Peninsula sample had staged their move on to the Peninsula by first living in holiday homes: all of these respondents were strongly bonded to the Peninsula.

It was during interviews with school children that the embryonic stage of sense of place development became apparent to me, although I later realized that transients and holiday home owners who decided to live permanently on the Peninsula are also at this stage. Children were spoken with in three Peninsula classrooms in November 1988. They included a room of mixed primary level grades in Okains Bay (26 children, to age 12), and two rooms of secondary school children in Akaroa (ages 10 to 15: total 42 children). Only a brief list of questions was asked, with children recording their own answers on sheets of paper (see Appendix 1).

When pre-puberty (aged 5 to 11) childrens' responses were compared to those of older students (aged 12 to 15), some interesting results emerged. Those in the younger age group preferred going to their own beach the most (42 per cent of these respondents), as well as going to local bays and Akaroa (for children who lived outside Akaroa). However, older children ranged further from their homes, with many preferring to go to local bays (52 per cent), and others to their own beach, out for hikes in the bush, into Akaroa, or around the Peninsula for sporting competitions.

The older group of school children also started to report similar likes in the Peninsula as their elders. Whereas younger children liked the beach and playing with friends, older children liked the beach as well as the peaceful atmosphere, close community, and scenery of the Peninsula. These three latter likes were similar to those of adult respondents (see Table 8-2). In addition, older school children reported likes that were less common among adults, such as being with farm animals and having little pollution in their environment.

An important point about dislikes is that 43 per cent of the older school children reported being bored, with not enough for teenagers to do in the Peninsula. A show of hands with the older children in one Akaroa classroom revealed that over two-thirds of them did not think that they would be staying in the Peninsula after high school, mostly because of the lack of economic opportunity, but also due in part to city life beckoning them away. Because of this probable out-migration, which is often permanent, the development of such children's

senses of place for the Peninsula may be foreshortened, not progressing into their fullest forms. An assessment of out-migrants' sense of place shows this to be the case (see Section 9.2).

And so, it seems that sense of place is only partially developed among part-time residents, both long-term campers and holiday home owners. This is primarily due to ties to their principal place of residence; their short-term, periodic residence on the Peninsula; and their lack of involvement in social activities with residents there. Among resident children, however, sense of place begins developing at a young age, with a more significant development very probable if they remain living there.

Once these children reach puberty they often range farther from home, and make their own decisions on what they value in their place; the values of their parents are partially internalized, although teenagers typically rebel against their parents for a few years, choosing instead to be with their peer group. If children later leave the Peninsula and do not return to live, the embryonic stage of sense of place development may be arrested. However, they may also retain nostalgic feelings for the place of their childhood.

### 9.1.3 Personal Sense of Place

Some Peninsula respondents have a more "personal" sense of place, since they do not have their own kinship network in the Peninsula, although they may have married into one. And so, they rely more on themselves (and their family if they have all moved in) to develop and maintain their sense of place. I have clustered foreign immigrants to Banks Peninsula and pakeha New Zealanders who have moved on to the Peninsula (non-transients) in this group; Maori who have moved on to the Peninsula are dealt with in Section 10.3. Many of these respondents are still in the embryonic stage in the development process of sense of place, while some who have lived longer in the Peninsula have entered the commitment stage (see Fig. 9-1).

Immigrants chose to come to New Zealand, and thence to the Peninsula, often journeying well over ten thousand kilometers from "home" to get there. New immigrants displayed a strong affection for their local place on the Peninsula; after a number of years of residence they began to develop a sense of place as well:

Well, I'm aware that most of our friends are immigrants, and they have a very strong sense of place because they have been willing to give up home and family to find a place that speaks so strongly to them. (Sally Lewis).

(Sally and David Lewis, both in their late 30s, came to Le Bons Bay 14 years ago, where they farm at the head of the Valley part time. He is a potter, and she is a social worker.)

Immigrants' regions of origin include North America, the British Isles, and Western Europe. The group was made up of five couples from overseas and nine other individual persons who were living with New Zealanders. Of the 17 interviewed, eight had lived in the Peninsula for fewer than 10 years.

Seven of the eight newer migrants did not feel like insiders, and few of them were very involved in their local community at the time of interview. However, the group of nine who had lived in the Peninsula for over 10 years more often reported insider feelings; were involved in a greater number of community activities; and had a well-developed social network. An example of a German immigrant's developing sense of place for Okains Bay is presented below:

I was travelling quite a bit, especially when I was younger, and I never really felt "at home" . . . In Palmerston North I couldn't really identify with the place and say "Well, this is my home", and in Christchurch the same thing . . . I didn't feel at home there. Only after we moved out here to Okains Bay that this country has become home. I've got this feeling of being protected by the hills. I can really identify myself with this place. I couldn't imagine moving away (and) living somewhere else. (Mike Schellkes).

(Mike and Ruth Schellkes, both in their 30s, are organic farmers. They came from West Germany, and had been living in Okains Bay for one and a half years when interviewed.)

Adult immigrants have bonds to both their homeland and to the Peninsula, while their children, if raised mostly in New Zealand, often show more ties to the Peninsula than to their parents' country of origin. Adults also have difficulty identifying with New Zealand, even after years of residence. Their sense of place is more locally defined, as shown by the following comments from one immigrant, the Curator of the Akaroa Museum:

I feel that I belong to this community; sometimes I am aware that I can never belong to New Zealand, in the same way that my child might feel, and I am aware of that especially working in a museum where I am looking after the cultural heritage of New Zealand, and I am aware that I, myself, am quite a recent arrival here, and that no matter how hard I try there are huge gaps in my historical knowledge, and those childhood perceptions of place and country and time. So, I don't think I could catch up in a national sense, but I do feel quite well absorbed in a community sense. I don't know if I feel like an insider, but I belong here. (Steve Lowndes).

(Steve is in his early 40s, and came from England; he had lived in Akaroa for eight years at the time of the interview.)

The sense of place of pakeha who had moved on to the Peninsula was presented in Sub-section 8.2.3. These respondents often have less commitment to remaining on the Peninsula until they have lived there for at least five to 10 years. This is because they still have connections outside (to former places of residence); less stability inside the Peninsula; and greater options for moving, through skills and outside connections.

Their lack of residential stability is partially demonstrated by the following analysis. Of the 22 respondents who have moved from the Peninsula and four that plan to leave soon (out of 270), six of these are new residents (non-transients, under 10 years of residence), seven are pakeha transients, and one is a Maori transient. And so, of these 26, 12 had left (or were planning to leave) after more than 10 years of residence, and eight of them did so to retire.

A progression of stronger intensity of sense of place was also evident due to length of residence when those pakeha who had moved to the Peninsula were sub-divided into four groups and compared in a statistical analysis. Those with the shortest length of residence (less than 10 years) were found to have a significantly lower average intensity (mean of -7.2;  $p < .01$ ) than the three groups who had longer residence in a oneway ANOVA analysis (see Table 9-1). This mean for intensity of sense of place was also the lowest attained by any sub-group tested using oneway ANOVA analysis in Chapters 8 through to 10, whether selection of respondents was based on gender, age, race or location of home etc. This score was even lower than that of the transient sub-group (see Table 8-4).

The residential stability of new residents is probably strongly linked to their sense of place there. After about 10 years they begin to feel committed to remaining on the Peninsula (see Table 9-1). For those who have lived in their place for over half of their life, a sense of identification with the Peninsula has often been gained. Such residents feel like insiders, although they may have had to overcome being made to feel like outsiders by residents for many years (see Sub-section 8.2.3). And so, after about 25 years residence, they may enter the culmination stage of the development of sense of place, with this stage occurring more often after 40 years of residence (see Table 9-1).

Table 9-1 Oneway analysis of variance: Pakeha who have moved on to the Peninsula grouped by length of residence.

Length of Residence of Respondent (years), by sub-group	n	<u>Intensity of Sense of Place</u>	
		Mean	Standard Deviation
1. less than 10	34	- 7.20	3.80
2. 10 - 24	18	- 3.48	3.16
3. 25 - 39	10	1.44	2.55
4. 40 plus	23	1.75	1.99

Note. 1. N = 85;  $F$  probability < .001.

2. Each group significantly different from all others, except sub-group 3 from 4 (Duncan multiple ranges test at  $p < .05$ ).

However, those raised in the Peninsula are in that phase at an earlier stage of life (see Fig. 9-1 and the next sub-section). This is shown by the sense of place of teenage children raised on the Peninsula, as compared to that of one of their parents, the one who had moved on to the Peninsula before the child was born. Although the teenager may have lived in the Peninsula for less time than the in-migrant parent, that teenager feels more like an insider. An example of this is given below for a mother and daughter, the former having moved on to the Peninsula from Christchurch 23 years prior to the interview:

I was brought up in town [Christchurch] and, you know, I think it's a hard thing to break. It depends on how you were brought up. Sometimes I'd like an 8 to 5 job. It's how I was brought up . . . In town you can run away from your problems. Here you've got to face up to them fair and square, which is a good thing . . . you have to learn to fit into their [locals'] patterns. You can bring your own ideas, but they're certainly squashed. A long time [to be accepted]. I was lucky when I came because there was a lot more residents here . . . I feel part of the place. I feel more as time goes on. They [her husband and daughter] just accept it, you see, because it is part of their life. I don't think that they fully understand sometimes the two lives I have led from the rest of the family. I don't stop to think "I've lived in town". I've got to sort of backtrack my ideas. But they know I'm different. I'm sort of the "outcast". (Jan Harris).

Jan's statement is contrasted with that of her 18 year-old daughter, Jackie:

I identify with the place, feel part of the place, like I belong here. (Jackie).

[But] You were brought up here. (Jan).



(Jan and Bevan Harris are dairy farmers in Okains Bay; Bevan has lived there for most of his life, as has their daughter, Jackie.)

And so, it is not just sheer length of residence that is important in developing a sense of place, but also the timing of that residence in the life cycle, and whether an in-migrant is made to feel like an "outsider".

Because of this circumstance, new residents have more of a personal sense of place in a place which has many long-term residents and a relatively small, stable population. New residents have little support system except their own family; there is a strong chance that they may move on if they encounter difficulty, especially if they already have a history of mobility. Pakeha are especially vulnerable to the "blocking" by residents of the development of their sense of place.

Foreign immigrants felt a sense of "strangeness" most keenly, through having moved to a new country, with some overcoming it better than others. Their ties to their homeland complicated the development of a Peninsula sense of place, as they had a less developed sense of personal context in New Zealand as a whole. However, they were also less affected by the Peninsula's social world, and had more motivation to develop a sense of place in their new "home", because of the difficulties they had to overcome to settle on the Peninsula.

Both pakeha who had moved on to the Peninsula and foreign immigrants could consequently develop a sense of place there if they remained long enough, but their residential stability is at issue. With pakeha who have ancestral ties to the Peninsula, though, their sense of place develops naturally through being raised there. An ancestral sense of place is described in the next sub-section.

#### 9.1.4 Ancestral Sense of Place

Peninsula residents, Maori and pakeha, who are raised (and often born) there have a sense of place that derives from that ancestry, as detailed in Chapter 8. The resident Maori ancestral view is different due to cultural influences; their sense of place is discussed in Section 10.3. And so, only pakeha respondents who were raised on the Peninsula are covered here. I have termed their sense of place "ancestral" because it is not primarily tied to culture, as is the case with most Maori respondents; instead, these pakeha usually concentrate on their ancestral heritage in the Peninsula as the basis of their sense of place.

In the Peninsula's social world, residents who are raised on the Peninsula often remind each other of the significance of their ancestry. This occurs from early childhood through schooling and into their working and retirement years. Among farmers a pecking order is also apparent, derived from their ancestry and the size of their farm, although this has diminished in recent years. Rick Menzies, who owns a large, ancestral farm in Menzies Bay, describes the Peninsula's social hierarchy:

When Canterbury was settled back in the 1840s they really did transpose a bit of English society to Canterbury . . . they tried to build a class system, for whatever reason. And that seemed to last right until I was a kid. And, especially on the farms like this, there were sort of big landowners, and the small landowners, and then the people that worked for the big landowners. It was really a three strata [society]. Now that [has] sort of disappeared, except in Pigeon Bay. I reckon it's sort of fascinating.

(Rick is in his mid-40s, and has lived on his farm for most of his life; his ancestry in the Peninsula dates from the 1870s.)

This social hierarchy extends to the schools, with children there also assessing each other on the basis of localized ancestry. An Akaroa school teacher describes the children's hierarchy, and then the effects of pakeha raised on the Peninsula on her own sense of place:

- #1 It's very obvious in the classroom - those children that have . . . the ultimate is "the French connection" (ancestry) . . . and those (whose fathers) that have become the landowners . . . (Anne Overton).

When I was struggling with my own identity as a rural person and became aware that it was very easy for rural women to step into rural politics, and that was a path I pursued when the children were very small . . . one of the accusations when it finally came to the end of the sentence was the fact that . . . I had come here from the city, that I wasn't born here. (Anne).

(Anne and Peter live on a farm above Duvauxchelles; they had lived in the Peninsula for 15 years when interviewed. She is now teaching in Christchurch.)

Only seventeen per cent of pakeha respondents raised on the Peninsula said that localized ancestry was not important to the development of their sense of place (no Irakehu expressed this view). The unimportance of ancestry was most common among the youngest pakeha age group: 50 per cent of respondents aged under 30 thought this way. However, these younger adults have a more circumscribed view of their place, as they have not yet matured. Ancestry may become more significant to them as they grow older (see next subsection).

Intensity of sense of place was assessed using statistical analysis to compare age groups of pakeha who have moved on to the Peninsula, to see whether this point generally holds true. The youngest sub-group (under age 30) was found to have a significantly lower

average intensity (mean of .76;  $p < .001$ ) than the three older groups in a oneway ANOVA analysis (see Table 9-2). The oldest sub-group (aged 70 or over) had the highest mean score for intensity of sense of place (mean of 7.05;  $p < .001$ ). This mean for intensity of sense of place was also the highest attained by any sub-group tested using oneway ANOVA analysis in Chapters 8 through to 10.

Table 9-2 Oneway analysis of variance: Pakeha who were raised on the Peninsula by age group.

Age of Respondent (years), by sub-group	n	<u>Intensity of Sense of Place</u>	
		Mean	Standard Deviation
1. 15 - 29	8	.76	1.26
2. 30 - 49	34	3.46	3.53
3. 50 - 69	52	5.50	4.19
4. 70 plus	32	7.05	3.88

Note. 1. N = 126; F probability < .001.

2. Sub-groups 3 and 4 significantly different from 1 and 2 (Duncan multiple ranges test at  $p < .05$ ).

Older respondents who were raised on the Peninsula had a much stronger feeling for their place (see Sub-section 8.2.4: Deep Attachment quotations). They had become aware of their sense of place in some fashion over their lifetime, often through living away for a few years and through maturation. Once they had lived in the Peninsula until they were elderly, they usually felt "part of" their place. These residents and other respondents over the age of about 45 felt a deep sense of place: they had reached the culmination stage of the development of their sense of place. Children and youths are in the embryonic stage, while young adults are in the commitment stage: they may yet move away. The difference in sense of place between age groups is discussed further in the next sub-section.

### 9.1.5 Sense of Place and the Aging and Maturation Process

Changes among respondents due to aging and maturation have already been described in several ways in the previous two sub-sections. Feelings of increased belonging and stability were noticeable among those who had longer residential status (for pakeha respondents who had moved on to the Peninsula: see Sub-section 9.1.3); this also occurred commonly among older respondents who had been raised on the Peninsula (see previous sub-section). However, since interviews occurred at a particular "window" in respondents' lives, fitting their responses into a continuum of time gives context to the status which I observed.

Regarding their sense of place, respondents move through a series of age stages in their lives. Through both individual and group interviews, including informal conversations with respondents, I have determined the following generalized stages: early childhood; teenager; early adulthood; adulthood; young-old; and old-old. These last two stages are derived from Rowles (1978). Following a brief cross-cultural comparison, each stage is discussed in turn. Quotations from group interviews are used to supplement the text.

Only slight differences were found between Maori and pakeha with respect to this process: Maori tended to become more aware of their culture at an earlier age (i.e. that they are *tangata whenua* and that their *marae* is their *turangawaewae*), but the significance of this often did not become apparent until they were in adulthood, unless they had lived away from the Peninsula for some time. Tribal elders were also seen to resemble the "old-old" in their sense of place (see later discussion).

The first stage, early childhood, is characterized by feelings of security and by being unselfconscious about one's place. That place usually does not extend far from home, with most of a child's time spent with the family, the local school, and playing with other local children. Comments from an older resident on his childhood years in Okains Bay are included below:

[I] used to run around the paddocks and play . . . used to run around the hills. A lot of fun, really. I was pretty keen at shooting; I used to walk a long way . . . it's much the same [now]. [The children] build huts up the trees and climb up and down. (Harry Hartley).

(Harry is in his early 60s and has lived in the Bay for most of his life).

This stage lasted through the early teen years, with a transition into the next stage during the mid-teens, at about age 15 or 16.

More independence, especially through mobility, and an emphasis on social life are associated with the late teens phase of development. From the age of 16 New Zealanders may drive their own cars; many more distant Peninsula activities are thus within reach of this group than with the former, and they are allowed to join in these activities without parental supervision. If they have been away at boarding school, they have more awareness of their sense of place; otherwise, they tend to take it for granted. Quotations from two sets of respondents illustrate this point:

- #1 There was a time in there when the place didn't mean as much; I probably did go through a stage where the place didn't mean as much [as a teenager]. (Bevan Harris).

I didn't even know it [my place] existed . . . you're just part of it. (Jan).

(Bevan and Jan Harris are in their early 40s and live in Okains Bay; she was also quoted in 9.1.3.)

- #2 Something to compare it with, to see how important Akaroa was. (Francis Helps).

That's what made you think [you were] more attached to Akaroa, after being away to boarding school? (Bob Masefield).

Yeah. I didn't have anything to compare it with [before]. (Francis).

(Francis and Bob were both raised on the Peninsula and have spent most of their lives there; Francis is in his early 40s, and Bob is in his mid-70s.)

For older school age residents, the lack of teenage activities was mentioned often as a cause of boredom (see earlier discussion in 9.1.2); during group interviews older respondents, looking back on their teenage years, did not think that this was such an issue, as the Peninsula was very different in the days of their youth. Social life was still important then, but there were more community activities on offer for the population at large, with dances, sports and clubs providing a variety of choice.

By the early adulthood stage, between the ages of about 20 and 30 to 35, attention becomes diverted to matters of livelihood. Many young adults leave the Peninsula at this point in their lives to gain further education, training or work experience. Homesickness and the perspective that they gain on their place during this time away often brings them "home" again for short stays, and, if the economic opportunity (and desire) is there, for a permanent return. Others who remain on the Peninsula busy themselves with gaining work (usually farm) experience there, often followed by taking over the family farm - in gradual stages sometimes -

from their parents. The importance to the development of sense of place of owning one's own home and raising a family there is explained in the next two quotations:

- #1 [There's] more of a sense of place when you get to be an adult, and you've brought [up] your family [there] and you actually own a place. You're settled there then. Until that stage, it [the farm] belongs to your parents . . . it's not quite as strong an attachment as it is once you've made the break [from your parents] and bought the place. You get more of a sense of place when you get married and have children in your own place. (Harry Hartley, also quoted above).
- #2 The Bay [Okains] was still your place, but once you're settled and you've got your own family, and actually having some control over the place, it's a much stronger feeling [sense of place]. (Alan Moore)

(Alan is in his early 30s, and was also raised in Okains Bay.)

There is an intense period of adjustment during this phase of aging, with respondents reporting little time available to reflect on their place experiences. When possible, social activities are still pursued by many of these adults, especially local sports. Raising children also begins for most residents in this stage. Two quotations from an older respondent are provided to illustrate how busy many people feel in this phase of their lives:

Thinking back as a young mother, I don't think you thought too much about the place in the Peninsula; you just sort of got involved with [your] young family; there wasn't much you got to take part in, because you were so involved with bringing up your family.

When I was 30 I didn't think much of the place at all; I felt I was just here, because that's where my husband and family were, and I just lived here. I didn't think much about it . . . but now I think a lot about it . . . I get out and I get the feel of the place. More than I did then - I was too busy thinking about doing my work for my children, husband, house - now I have time to explore and look at things and enjoy what grows here, what is here. (Ruth Helps).

(Ruth is Francis' mother and is in her early 70s; she moved to Akaroa from North Canterbury over 40 years prior to being interviewed.)

Of course, their feelings of busyness are relative: farmers still have a slower, more deliberate pace of life than most urban dwellers of a similar age. However, the feeling of being somewhat overwhelmed by the various tasks at hand characterized this age group on the Peninsula. This stage lasted until adulthood was reached, in the mid-thirties age period.

The adulthood stage represents respondents' prime of life, when they are producing farm (and other) goods from their labours. They feel more established in the Peninsula by this stage, with their work sorted out and a strong social network in place. They often become more heavily involved in their community as they enter their forties, partly because they are

well known by this time. Because their children are well on the way toward adulthood themselves, demanding less close supervision, adults also have more time to get involved:

[When you've] got the time to get involved [in the community], then you enjoy it. [As a married adult] you've got the interests of each other, and the interests of the town, and the various people in it who you play with and associate with. (Bob Masefield, also quoted above).

A very relaxed, comfortable feeling is present among older members of this age group: they feel secure in their place, except when their livelihood is threatened, such as during the combined drought and economic recession of 1988-89. By this age stage they normally own their home/farm, and feel "settled" in their place. Their sense of place develops parallel to the achievement of this settled feeling (see earlier quotations).

People of this age group also frequently find some means of recognizing the importance of their own sense of place, through living away, being involved in the community, and/or family crises (see Section 8.3). The process of growing older - through maturation - is also a means of realization to some respondents. For the majority of older respondents, the social ties that they have formed in their place; the stake that they have made there; and their attachment to place combine in a commitment to remain on the Peninsula, at least until they retire, often in the face of some form of adversity. By their late 50s or early 60s, thoughts turned to the next stage of their lives.

The final stage of aging deals with the "sunset" years of life, from retirement at around age 60 onwards. The longevity of pakeha residents who have remained on the Peninsula (and of out-migrants) enabled me to examine this stage of life in more detail than with Maori respondents (see also Section 6.1 on longevity of these two peoples). I made a distinction between "young-old" and "old-old" (after Rowles, 1978) in my division of age stages, with the young-old stage ranging up to the early 70s.

In the young-old age stage, many pakeha are still quite involved in the community and their family farms/businesses on the Peninsula. Some respondents are less active in community activities themselves, but they are often consulted for their views. With more time on their hands, they tend to reflect on their place experience during this phase, doing this more often shortly after they retire (or leave the Peninsula):

I think you reminisce more, you sort of look back . . . I often try to picture the people [who used to live here], the things that they do. I find it very satisfying, very soothing. You sort of feel you're still with them and they're still with you in many ways,

especially after there's a death in the town [Akaroa]. They're people that you knew as kids, and you realize that Akaroa's changing. I get a lot of satisfaction looking back; I get a lot of enjoyment and pleasure from it. (Wes Shuttleworth).

(Wes is in his mid-60s, and has lived all of his life in Akaroa.)

In the old-old age stage this reflection often increases in both duration and depth, with reminiscing about "the old days" commonplace, since the mobility and community participation of these elders has decreased. Their sense of place can be said to be more historically-based, linked to both their longevity and orientation. It is at this stage that respondents most often become "part of their place" (see Sub-sections 8.2.2 and 8.2.4). The sense of place among such respondents is of profound importance; they were also very willing to talk to me about it, and were pleased that someone wanted to hear about their lifetime experiences. Conversations with the "old-old" were similar to those that I had with Maori *kaumatua*, who were often 10 to 15 years younger than these pakeha elders. The full magnitude of "sense of place" became apparent to me during such conversations.

My assessment of the maturation process on the Peninsula with respect to sense of place was thus confirmed by respondents, particularly during group interviews. Both Okains Bay and Akaroa groups are in agreement that Peninsula residents tend to move through stages as they grow older, and that sense of place parallels this maturation. I also checked this relationship in a Pearson's correlation test, relating the intensity of sense of place and age. The test resulted in a fairly strong correlation coefficient ( $r .41$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Results in the previous section from the oneway ANOVA analysis using age groups of pakeha raised on the Peninsula to compare average intensity of sense of place also back up my qualitative findings.

Much can therefore be learned through paralleling the maturation process with the development of sense of place. The discussion now moves to a statistical examination of Peninsula respondents' senses of place.

#### 9.1.6 An Analysis of the Peninsula Sample as a Whole

The research design ensured that many people who probably had a strong sense of place were targetted for interview. As well as this feature of the design, in the whole sample of 270 respondents a wide variety of Peninsula residents were also interviewed (see Table 7-1). The sample is thus heterogeneous in many respects and has a component which demonstrates a



strong intensity of sense of place, enabling me to explore the relationships between several factors which I thought might affect the development of respondents' senses of place.

The factors that are individually based and have a more direct influence on the development of sense of place (e.g. length of residence; community involvement; socioeconomic status) are examined here; factors that are related to a person's context and indirectly influence sense of place (e.g. physical environment; culture and society; community; family and home environment) are reviewed in the next chapter. Some factors are also more complex in character than others. I have used composite variables in these cases, which provide greater reliability as several indicators are used for each composite. These variables are derived from respondents' own views as recorded in the interview sessions, matching more closely how they assessed aspects of their sense of place. Factors used in statistical analyses are listed in Table 9-3.

One composite has already been described in Chapter 8, that of intensity of sense of place. This was formed through combining variables for place attachment, ancestry, insider feelings, and motivation to remain on the Peninsula (see Section 8.2.5 and Table 8-3). Two other composites greatly influence the intensity of sense of place, and are more difficult to separate from it conceptually. They describe important dimensions of respondents' experience in their place: residential status and social belonging.

Three variables were combined to form the composite on residential status (length of residence, birthplace/where lived for most of life, and situation), and five variables were combined to form the composite on social belonging (social network, number of community involvements, connections out of Peninsula, where lived in lifetime, and frequency of moving). The scales of these two clusters of variables were either ordinal or interval. Descriptions of variables and their categories are contained in Appendix 2.

The variables were first checked to ensure that they logically progressed in the same direction. The rationale for placing clusters of variables together is now explained. For residential status, if a respondent had lived in the Peninsula for longer periods; was born in the Peninsula and had lived there for more than half a lifetime; and was living on ancestral land (or in a family's ancestral home), then a stronger feeling of local residence was thought to be probable. Similarly, for social belonging, if a respondent had an extensive social network on

Table 9-3. Description of variables used in statistical tests for Peninsula sample of respondents.

Variable	Scale	Basis of Assessment
1. length of residence	I	data
2. ancestor's decade of arrival	I	data
3. ancestry important	O	data/my assessment
4. birthplace	O	data
5. likes & special places	I	data
6. awareness level	O	data/my assessment
7. motivation to remain on place	O	data
8. social network	O	data
9. community involvement	I	data
10. connections out of Peninsula	O	data
11. living situation on the Peninsula	O	data
12. insider feelings in Peninsula	O	data/my assessment
13. attachment level to Peninsula	O	data/my assessment
14. stage of life	O	data
15. age	I	data
16. gender	N	data
17. socio-economic status	O	data/my assessment
18. occupational group	N	data
19. race	N	data
20. immigrant status	N	data
21. regional mobility	O	data
22. frequency of moving	O	data
23. years lived away from Peninsula	I	data
24. location of home in Peninsula	N	data
25. spatial extent of place ties	O/N	data
26. topographic setting of home	N	data
27. size of community	O/N	data
28. landscape setting of home	N	data
29. current travels around Peninsula	O	data/my assessment
30. past travels around Peninsula	O	data/my assessment
31. travels overseas	O	data
32. intensity of sense of place	I	composite variable (#3, 7, 12, & 13)
33. residential status	I	composite variable (#1, 4, & 11)
34. social belonging	I	composite variable (#8, 9, 10, 21, & 22)

Note: Scale: N = nominal; O = ordinal; I = interval; see Appendix II for descriptions of variables.

the Peninsula; had a greater number of community involvements (past and present); had fewer social connections outside the Peninsula; had only lived in the Peninsula or surrounding environs during his or her lifetime; and had moved less frequently (local moves on the Peninsula were not counted), then a stronger feeling of social belonging within the Peninsula was thought to be probable.

These two composites were tested for internal consistency using two separate reliability tests, one per composite. Both composites were found to be reliable: residential status (alpha .72; standardized item alpha .79); social belonging (alpha .55; standardized item alpha .71: Table 9-4).

Pearson's correlation tests were then conducted, relating all variables that have interval or ordinal scales with intensity of sense of place. Strong correlations resulted often in both positive and negative directions (see Table 9-5). The strongest Pearson's correlation coefficient in a positive direction occurred between intensity of sense of place and residential status ( $r$  .73;  $p < .001$ ); this was somewhat lower between intensity of sense of place and social belonging ( $r$  .61;  $p < .001$ ). These two composites are also highly correlated with each other ( $r$  .69;  $p < .001$ ) in a positive direction. Four positive correlations between intensity of sense of place and other variables resulted in a coefficient level above .20, with age the highest correlation ( $r$  .41;  $p < .001$ : see Table 9-5). The strongest negative correlation occurred between intensity of sense of place and length of time spent away from the Peninsula ( $r$  -.54;  $p < .001$ ).

Although I had included the data from 13 pakeha transients to give a wider cross-section of respondents, and because six still remain on the Peninsula, I also considered whether this data might adversely affect Pearson's correlations if they were kept in the sample. To test this supposition, a new reliability test on the composite variable for intensity of sense of place was first conducted for the sample of 257 respondents. The scale was still reliable (alpha .61; standardized item alpha .62). When new Pearson's correlations were conducted based on this sample size, negligible differences from a sample size of 270 resulted (see Table 9-5). And so, for the remainder of my statistical tests I used the larger sample.

Some variables tested using Pearson's correlation showed no correlation with intensity of sense of place. These included the size of community a respondent lived in; how widely he

Table 9-4 Reliability tests for residential status and social belonging: Peninsula respondents.

Variable	Item Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
<b>1. <u>Residential Status</u></b>		
length of residence	.75	.56
birthplace/where spent most of life	.83	.34
living situation	.44	.82
<hr/>		
<b>2. <u>Social Belonging</u></b>		
number of community involvements (past & present)	.29	.70
connections outside Peninsula	.38	.52
where lived in lifetime	.40	.44
frequency of moving	.47	.47
social network in Peninsula	.55	.43
<hr/>		
Reliability coefficients:		
1. <u>Residential Status</u>	alpha .72	
	standardized item alpha .79	
2. <u>Social Belonging</u>	alpha .55	
	standardized item alpha .71	

Note. N = 270.

or she travels the Peninsula (past and present); and his or her awareness level for a personal sense of place (described in Appendix 2). Awareness level was coded in reverse, to show a decreasing level with increasing numbers (see Appendix 2); this was done because it was felt that respondents would take their place more for granted the longer they lived there, yet it did not correlate with a stronger intensity of sense of place.

Table 9-5 Pearson's correlations: Variables strongly correlated with intensity of sense of place for Peninsula respondents.

Variable	$r$ N = 270   N = 257		p<
Residential status*	.73	.66	.001
Social belonging*	.61	.57	.001
Age	.41	.35	.001
Number of likes	.27	.19	.001
Spatial extent of place ties	.26	.31	.001
Socio-economic status	.25	.16	.001
-----			
Length of time spent away from Peninsula	- .27	- .51	.001
Frequency of overseas trips	- .18	- .25	.001

Note: 1. Correlations above dashed line in a positive direction, and below in negative.

2. \* indicates a composite variable.

To attempt to determine the relative importance of different variables, a step-wise regression analysis was conducted. Intensity of sense of place was used as the dependent variable; the independent variables were those that correlated with it in a positive direction (listed in Table 9-5). The variables that correlated in a negative direction were not selected for this analysis because they are based on experiences outside the Peninsula. In the regression, residential status was the variable selected in the first step, explaining 54 per cent of the

variance (R Square .54; Adjusted R Square .54). The addition of the other five variables increased the explanation of variance to 60 per cent in the last step (R Square .61; Adjusted R Square .60). Residential status is thus more central to the development of intensity of sense of place; however, inter-correlations among other variables in the regression make it difficult to determine their relative importance.

The sample was broken into subsets for further Pearson's correlation analyses to see whether the same relationships would hold. The same procedures were used to explore relationships among three groups of respondents with large enough sample sizes to make subdivisions possible: pakeha who had been raised on the Peninsula; pakeha who had moved on to the Peninsula (not including transients or immigrants); and Maori. The same calculation was used for intensity of sense of place in these tests to permit comparison between the three sets of results; a common standard for intensity of sense of place was necessary for this comparison.

Very similar results were obtained for these three groups and the sample as a whole. When the groups were compared, however, there were some interesting differences. These results are summarized in Table 9-6. Maori respondents achieved strong, positive correlations between intensity of sense of place and residential status, age, and spatial size of place. The highest coefficient value recorded in all Pearson's tests, including those with the sample of 270 respondents, involved residential status ( $r$  .76;  $p < .001$ ; Table 9-6), which demonstrated the importance of this factor in the development of Maori respondents' senses of place. A negative correlation between awareness level and increased intensity of sense of place shows that an increased awareness of sense of place was also important to Maori respondents. Length of time spent away from the Peninsula correlated negatively with intensity of sense of place for these respondents as well. The significance of these results will be discussed further in Chapter 10, as they are related to the influence of Maori culture on sense of place.

Concerning the other two groups, the major discovery was that pakeha respondents who had moved on to the Peninsula had strong, positive correlations between residential status and intensity of sense of place, and between spatial size of their place and intensity of sense of place ( $r$  values of .41 and .47 respectively;  $p < .001$ ; Table 9-6). This result indicates that these respondents place more importance on their residency, and gradually form bonds to a

Table 9-6 Pearson's correlations: Variables strongly correlated with intensity of sense of place, by subsets of Peninsula respondents.

Pakeha						
	Raised on Peninsula		Moved on to Peninsula (non-transient/non-immigrant)		Maori	
N	12		85		29	
Variable	r	p <	r	p <	r	p <
residential status*	.23	.01	.41	.001	.76	.001
social belonging*	.36	.001	.40	.001	.59	.001
age	.24	.003	.31	.002	.63	.001
number of likes	.31	.001	.19	.04	.29	.06
spatial extent of place ties	.01	---	.47	.001	.59	.001
socio-economic status	.07	---	.13	---	.25	.09
awareness level	-.26	.002	.04	---	-.37	.03
length of time spent away from Peninsula	-.07	---	-.16	.08	-.35	.03
frequency of overseas trips	-.06	---	-.23	.02	.11	---

Note. 1. Correlations above dashed line in a positive direction (except awareness level, as indicated), and below in negative.

2. \* indicates a composite variable.

3. Dash in a column represents no significant correlation.

larger realm with increased feelings of sense of place, as compared to respondents raised on the Peninsula who do neither. These results tie in with the discussion in Sub-sections 9.1.3 and 9.1.4, where I explained how respondents raised on the Peninsula are born into a sense of place.

Statistical analyses are useful to demonstrate statistical trends for certain data across the sample, or subsets thereof, but the reasons for the importance of certain factors in the development of the intensity of sense of place only become clear when qualitative material is examined. The analyses of various samples tend to support the lines of reasoning that I used in previous sub-sections (e.g. sense of place develops gradually over time in a place, and is especially linked to aging and to a feeling of social belonging). A number of contexts also influence the development of sense of place, broadening analyses beyond an individual scope. These contexts will be discussed further in Chapter 10. The presentation now turns to the lessening and loss of sense of place.

## 9.2 The Lessening and Loss of Sense of Place

The lessening and loss of sense of place for Banks Peninsula was investigated primarily through an analysis of out-migrants' feelings for their former place. Contrasts with Peninsula respondents are also made. Demographic details on the 80 out-migrants who were interviewed are first presented, followed by both qualitative and quantitative analyses of their sense of place (or lack of it). The section concludes with some general observations on displacement.

Interviews were conducted with out-migrants, usually in their own homes in different parts of New Zealand, using a question list similar to the one used with Peninsula respondents (see Appendix 1). From analyses of their tape-recorded responses, I found the following demographic details. Most of the out-migrants live in the Christchurch region (55 respondents), with another 10 living elsewhere on the South Island, and 15 from the North Island and beyond. Out-migrants were suggested to me during interviews with Peninsula respondents; most of these were relations. They were selected to give a wide coverage of race, gender, age, where they lived, and positive and negative views of the Peninsula (see Table 9-7).



Most of the out-migrants are pakeha (66), and of the 14 Maori, 12 are Irakehu. Among those interviewed, a balance of male and females, and a range of age groups and differing lengths of time away from the Peninsula were maintained (see Table 9-7). The average length of residence on the Peninsula of out-migrants was 24 years, somewhat shorter than the average 31 years of Peninsula respondents. Many of the out-migrants are retired or in business or a profession, and they are generally middle class: only two per cent of out-migrants are in the "lower class" category, while 12 per cent are "upper class".

Forty-six of the out-migrants had lived elsewhere besides their present home or the Peninsula. Of these respondents, most had no attachment to their former residences (47 per cent), with the others split evenly into two groups of similar strong feelings (for the Peninsula and the former residence) and weaker feelings. Most of the out-migrants were strongly attached to their present location, with some having a moderate attachment, others a weak attachment, and the remainder not attached (see Table 9-7).

However, most out-migrants are still attached to the Peninsula (73 per cent), with 15 per cent having a weak attachment, and the remainder not attached. Of the 10 respondents in the "not-attached" group, five had never been attached to the Peninsula. Therefore only five out-migrants had "lost" their sense of place for the Peninsula (6 per cent of total).

Most of the out-migrants still feel that the Peninsula is a large part of their lives (56 per cent), with some reporting moderate connections (34 per cent), and the remainder no longer connected there. Indeed, three-quarters of the out-migrants make regular trips back to the Peninsula several times per year (see Table 9-7). Examples of the degree to which some out-migrants still feel attached to the Peninsula and feel that they are part of its social world are included for illustration. Two quotations from pakeha are followed by two from Maori:

- #1 Oh, I love it, I really love it over there. Everytime I go home I feel as if I've sort of, well, I'm home, you know? I feel sort of secure when I'm there. (Ruth Walker).

(Ruth Walker nee Thacker is in her late 40s, and had lived away from the Peninsula in Christchurch for 20 years at the time of interview; she was raised in Okains Bay.)

- #2 Well it's part of you, you know. You'll always be interested in the people that have lived there when you were there . . . people that you've grown up with. You'll still feel your roots are there, [al]though you're living here [Christchurch]. (Graham Nutt).

(Graham is in his late 70s and moved away from the Peninsula 13 years prior to the interview; he was raised in Motukarara, and farmed there for most of his life.)

Table 9-7 Demographic characteristics of out-migrants.

1. <b><u>Race</u></b>	Pakeha	Maori		
	66	14		
2. <b><u>Gender</u></b>	Male	Female		
	36	44		
3. <b><u>Where Live</u></b>	Christchurch & environs	Elsewhere on S. Island	N. Island & Beyond	
	55	10	15	
4.* <b><u>Age Group</u></b>	< 36	36-55	56-70	>70
	18	31	25	26
5.* <b><u>Occupation</u></b>	Business/ Professional	Housewife	Retired	Other
	26	14	45	15
6.* <b><u>Length of time since moved from Peninsula</u></b>	< 10 Years	11 - 25	> 25	
	29	38	33	
7.* <b><u>Frequency of return trips to Peninsula</u></b>	< 1/Year	1 - 10	> 10	
	25	46	29	
8.* <b><u>Reason(s) to Move from the Peninsula</u></b>		Lack of Employment	Further Education	Retirement
	Primary:	35	24	11
	Secondary:	8	5	3
9.** <b><u>What was Missed in Peninsula</u></b>	Home and Family	Own Farm	People	
	39	20	20	
10. <b><u>*Attached to Present Place</u></b>	Strongly	Moderate	Weak	Not
	33	23	12	12

Note: \* Expressed as percentage of total (N = 80).

\*\* Expressed as percentage of total (N = 51: number who felt homesick).

- #3 It is my home there. It always will be. Yeah. I've been away from home for a long time, and I've always turned up going back there. Yeah, I like to go back and visit all the people. Like to go and visit all the gravesites, you know, up on the hill [in Onuku]. (Chris Robinson).

(Chris is Irakehu and in his late 30s; he was raised in Akaroa and travels to both Akaroa and Little River frequently from Christchurch to visit relations.)

- #4 Everything I feel and think it's [my Maori ancestry] had an effect on. It's quite hard really [to describe]. I went back [to Akaroa] because of my ancestral background, basically [to] get to know some and to find out about it. I didn't really belong [in Christchurch]. That's why I went back, to find out what I belong to. I needed badly, I think, just to have that security of knowing . . . to find my roots. (Ngaire Tainui).

(Ngaire is Irakehu and in her early 30s; she was raised in Akaroa, and lived out of the Peninsula for a few years before returning to remain there for five years. She moved out to Christchurch two years prior to being interviewed, but she is considering moving back again. She visits the Peninsula frequently.)

When the responses of older (pakeha) out-migrants were assessed for those who had left the Peninsula at an early stage in their lives, those who had left before the age of 10 had only some warm memories for their former place, whether they still had relations living there or not. Those who had left after the age of 12, however, were often strongly bonded to the Peninsula, even following an intervening period of over 40 years! This bonding was usually in a nostalgic sense, as there was no desire to move back to the Peninsula.

Out-migrants reported that a lack of employment opportunity was their most frequent reason for moving from the Peninsula. Thirty-five per cent gave this as a primary cause, followed by further education and retirement (see Table 9-7). Often multiple reasons were given for leaving. Other reasons included health (10 per cent), "didn't like it" (five per cent), marriage (five per cent), and to be in city life/close to family (eight per cent).

When out-migrant responses were compared to those of Peninsula residents, the likes of the former regarding their place paralleled those of the latter (see Table 8-2). Dislikes, though, were more numerous. Out-migrants' major dislike in the Peninsula mirrored their major reason for moving. The lack of employment opportunity (for adults or for children in the future) was cited by 16 per cent of out-migrants. Other dislikes commonly mentioned concerned qualities of the Peninsula, such as the bad roads, inclement weather, and narrow-minded, conservative people who are prone to gossiping.

Out-migrants were just as often tied to the local place in the Peninsula as to the Peninsula as a whole (43 per cent of out-migrants to each locale). This differed from Peninsula respondents, who reported only 18 per cent for the former category and 56 per cent for the

latter. Also, most out-migrants said that they confined their Peninsula travels to the local area (75 per cent), the same as for Peninsula residents. The difference in the spatial extent of out-migrant ties is therefore probably due to a focus on the local place in their memories, as their feelings are the most intense for this place. Out-migrants have told me often that they usually only felt like "insiders" in their local place on return trips to the Peninsula. Most of the out-migrants also reported strong feelings for the Peninsula, although such feelings were often more "nostalgic" in character. Sometimes their fond memories made the Peninsula seem a nicer place than when they lived there. Three short quotations are included to illustrate these feelings:

- #1 [I] have a bit of a feeling for it [Okains Bay], I guess . . . [a] bit of nostalgia, I guess. It'll always be there. (Doug Harris).

(Doug is in his late 60s and lives in Auckland. He left Okains Bay when he was 19, over 45 years prior to the interview, yet still returns every two years, on average.)

- #2 I do love Pigeon Bay, and I always get very nostalgic when I go back. Having read all the family books and history, I realize what they [my ancestors] went through to make the farm [at Pigeon Bay], and how hard they worked, and what dreadfully isolated lives [they led]. [Due to my ancestry] I feel we're part of it . . . I love it. (Anne Davison).

(Anne is in her early 70s and lives in Christchurch. She left Pigeon Bay as a teenager, and returns regularly to visit her son, Frank, who owns the family farm.)

- #3 It's still got a draw, back to that place, and a great lot of memories of the young days when we went to school and the old playground . . . it was home for all our early life. [I] learned to dance and that sort of thing there. (George Waghorn).

(George and Rosie live in Whangarei, and left the Peninsula 35 years prior to being interviewed. He is in his mid-80s and she is in her late 70s; both were raised in the Peninsula, and farmed in Okains Bay. They return to the Peninsula every five to ten years.)

Two photographs of out-migrants who were not quoted are included on the next page (Photos 9-2 and 9-3).

Of the 51 out-migrants who reported homesick feelings (64 per cent of total), one-third felt these during boarding school and the others after they had moved away. Home and family were most often missed, followed by their own farm, and people there (see Table 9-7). The most common way in which out-migrants became aware of their feelings for the Peninsula was through reflection and homesickness after moving away (55 per cent of total), with *tikanga-Maori* the means for five of the 14 Maori out-migrants.



Photo 9-2: Laurie Harris (deceased) at his home in Okains Bay. He was 93 years old at the time of the interview. Laurie was raised in Okains Bay, and spent the past 40 years in Christchurch.



Photo 9-3: Marie and Turei Whaanga at a social function in Tauranga. Marie was raised in Little River, and still has fond memories for the Peninsula.

Although many out-migrants feel strongly for the Peninsula, nearly three-quarters of all out-migrants (73 per cent) reported that they would not move back there. Only 13 per cent said that they might return to live there, while the rest (11 out-migrants) were more certain that they would move back to the Peninsula at some point in the future. An interesting discovery is that all of these 11 respondents live in the Christchurch region and travel back to the Peninsula frequently. Eight of them are Maori (seven are Irakehu), as well.

In addition, 15 per cent of out-migrants are still living part time on the Peninsula, spending university vacations there with family, or living in a holiday home of their own. Of the 24 Peninsula respondents who have moved away since I interviewed them, two returned to live there and four maintain holiday homes there. Two of the out-migrants have died that I know of; both were very elderly.

Because few out-migrants intended to return permanently to the Peninsula, though, I felt that using the same composite variable (of four variables) for out-migrants and residents to measure the intensity of out-migrants' sense of place for Banks Peninsula would be inappropriate. And so, the composite was re-calculated for out-migrants with one variable - motivation to remain in the Peninsula - dropped (see Table 9-8); motivation also did not correlate well with the other three variables in a reliability test.

Table 9-8 Reliability test for intensity of sense of place for Peninsula out-migrants.

Variable Deleted	Item Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
ancestry important	.51	.66
insider feelings	.59	.61
attachment to place	.63	.57
Reliability coefficients:		
	alpha .71	
	standardized item alpha .74	

Note.1. N = 80.

The new composite variable was checked for reliability, and the reliability coefficient that resulted was indicative of a reliable composite (alpha .71; standardized item alpha .74: see Table 9-8). Further statistical discussion of the intensity of out-migrant sense of place uses this definition for the composite variable. Without the motivation variable in this composite, it was felt that this composite represented more of a measure of the intensity of out-migrants' "nostalgic" senses of place for the Peninsula.

Table 9-9. Description of variables used in statistical tests for Peninsula out-migrants.

Variable	Scale	Basis of Assessment
connections out of the Peninsula	no data	
living situation on the Peninsula	no data	
immigrant status	no data	
current travels in Peninsula no data	no data	
travels overseas	no data	
years since moved out of Peninsula	I	data
out-migrant travels back to Peninsula	O	data
attachment level to present place	O	data/my assessment
where from in Peninsula (location)	N	data
nostalgic sense of place (for Peninsula)	I	composite variable (# 3, 12, & 13)
residential status (Peninsula-based)	I	composite variable (# 1 & 4)
social belonging (Peninsula-based)	I	composite variable (# 9, 21, & 22)

Note: 1. Scale: N = nominal; O = ordinal; I = interval; see Appendix II for further descriptions of variables.

2. Variables in top half of table were not statistically analyzed due to a lack of data; additional variables listed in Table 9-3 were analyzed.

3. Variables in bottom half of table were analyzed for out-migrants alone.

4. Composites formed differently for out-migrants; refer to Table 9-3 for variable numbers.

Most of the variables with interval or ordinal scales used with Peninsula respondents in Pearson's correlation tests with intensity of sense of place were again used with out-migrants; additional variables are listed in Table 9-9, with the ones dropped from analysis noted in that table (refer also to Table 9-3). Table 9-10 presents the results from Pearson's correlation tests. Two important findings that mirror each other are that the stronger out-migrants are attached to their present place, the weaker is their intensity of sense of place for the Peninsula ( $r = -.39$ ;  $p < .001$ ), and that the more frequently they travel back to the Peninsula, the stronger is their sense of place for it ( $r = .49$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Motivation to return to the Peninsula permanently is also correlated strongly with increasing intensity of sense of place ( $r = .34$ ;  $p < .001$ ).

However, living further away from the Peninsula is correlated negatively with the intensity of out-migrants' senses of place for the Peninsula ( $r = -.24$ ;  $p < .01$ ), as is an increasing length of time spent away from the Peninsula, in total, including during a respondent's residence there ( $r = -.44$ ;  $p < .001$ ). The number of years since they had moved from the Peninsula is not negatively correlated with the intensity of their sense of place, though, probably because of mixed reasons for leaving among respondents (some liked the place, while others did not).

In Pearson's correlation tests, the composite variables for residential status and social belonging also correlate strongly with intensity of sense of place, but some variables within these composites had to be dropped due to a lack of data (living situation on the Peninsula, for residential status; connections out of the Peninsula, for social belonging). Two other variables - social network on the Peninsula and frequency of travels back to the Peninsula - were not made part of the social belonging composite due to low item total correlations ( $r < .20$ ) in initial reliability tests.

The two composites still proved to be reliable when a decreased number of items was used (residential status: alpha .66, standardized item alpha .69; social belonging: alpha .47, standardized item alpha .63: Table 9-11). Through Pearson's correlation tests, I found that residential status is correlated strongly with out-migrants' intensity of sense of place for the Peninsula ( $r = .52$ ;  $p < .001$ ), with social belonging less so ( $r = .26$ ;  $p < .01$ : Table 9-9).

To compare the mean scores of intensity of sense of place between categories within a variable, oneway ANOVA analyses were also conducted. Both race and age groups were



Table 9-10 Pearson's Correlations: Variables strongly correlated with intensity of sense of place among Peninsula out-migrants.

Variable	r	p <
Residential status*	.52	.001
Frequency of travels back to Peninsula	.49	.001
Number of likes	.43	.001
Motivation to return to Peninsula	.34	.001
Social belonging	.27	.07
Spatial extent of place ties	.20	.04
<hr/>		
Length of time spent away from Peninsula	- .44	.001
Attachment level to own place	- .39	.001
Location of home (distance from Peninsula)	- .29	.01

Note: 1.N = 80; correlations above dashed line in a positive direction, and below in negative.

2. Variables oriented to Peninsula (except last two in list).

3. \* indicates a composite variable.

Table 9-11 Reliability tests for residential status and social belonging: Out-migrants.

Variable	Item Total Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
<b>1. <u>Residential Status</u></b>		
length of residence	.53	---
birthplace/where spent most of life	.53	---
<hr/>		
<b>2. <u>Social Belonging</u></b>		
number of community involvements (past & present)	.32	.59
where lived in lifetime	.46	.14
frequency of moving	.37	.46

## Reliability coefficients:

1. Residential Status	alpha .66
standardized item	alpha .69
2. Social Belonging	alpha .47
standardized item	alpha .63

---

Note. 1. N = 80.

examined in this way (see Table 9-12). To compare the intensity of sense of place between age groups, the age group definitions were changed slightly from that used with the Peninsula sample, so that a more even balance of numbers of respondents between groups was attained (refer to Tables 9-2 and 9-12).

Table 9-12 Oneway analysis of variance: Out-migrants by race and age.

Variable	Category	n	<u>Intensity of Sense of Place</u>	
			Mean	Standard Deviation
1. <u>Race</u>	pakeha	66	- .63	2.55
	Maori	14	2.95	2.90
2. <u>Age Group</u> (years)	15 - 35	14	1.48	2.09
	36 - 55	25	- 1.08	2.46
	56 - 70	20	- .10	2.18
	71 plus	21	.40	2.38

Note. 1. N = 80;  $F$  probability < .001 (ethnic origin);  $F$  < .01 (age group).

2. Youngest and oldest age groups significantly different from second youngest age group (Duncan multiple ranges test at  $p < .05$ ).

Age was not significantly correlated with intensity of sense of place in a Pearson's correlation test, probably because respondents left the Peninsula at different ages for different reasons (e.g. for schooling when young; for work when an adult; and for retirement when an elder). In the oneway ANOVA analysis, the youngest and oldest age groups were found to have significantly higher mean scores for intensity of sense of place than the 36 to 55 age group (see Table 9-12). This result is affected by the recent departure of young adults (after

schooling) and older residents (for retirement) from the Peninsula, with high numbers from both groups leaving reluctantly.

When the intensity of Maori out-migrants' senses of place were compared to that of pakeha in a oneway ANOVA analysis, pakeha had a significantly lower mean score (-.36 compared to 1.68 for Maori;  $F$  probability < .001: see Table 9-12). This result indicates a statistical difference, but is not conclusive since the sample size for the Maori group is small, and the group was not selected randomly.

The reason for this difference among out-migrants was explored through further quantification. Maori respondents are known to travel back to the Peninsula slightly more often (mean of 2.9 against 2.4 for pakeha), with a mean of two representing "seldom travel back" (one to three trips/year) and three indicating "regular trips back" (four to 10 trips/year: see Appendix 2). Two-thirds of Maori respondents also are intending to return there to live: they told me that only economic circumstances are keeping them away. This result compares to five per cent of pakeha who wished to return to the Peninsula for permanent residence.

Maori respondents maintain stronger social connections with Peninsula residents than do pakeha out-migrants: a oneway ANOVA analysis showed a significant difference ( $F$  probability < .002) between the extent of Maori social connections there (mean of 1.36; standard deviation .50) and those of pakeha (mean of 1.00; standard deviation .35), where a mean of one represents "some network" and two represents a "well-developed network" (see Appendix 2). These results, based on quantitative analyses, provide some rationale for the difference in intensity of sense of place between Maori and pakeha out-migrants.

There are qualitative differences in out-migrant Maori and pakeha residual feelings of sense of place for the Peninsula as well. An important reason for Maori to return is to restore spiritual and physical sustenance (*wairua*), although this might not be a conscious reason (Gray, 1990). Out-migrant Maori also want to support the Irahēhu *hapu*, especially the rejuvenation of *marae*. These qualitative reasons for return will be discussed further in Chapter 10, as out-migrant Maori are especially important in the maintenance of a cultural sense of place for resident Irahēhu living on the Peninsula.

This section concludes with some general observations on the effects of displacement, and the significance of such shifts to Peninsula respondents' and out-migrants' senses of place.

Shifting people from one place to another, and from one culture to another can be very traumatic, particularly when this occurs at a young age. Fifty of the Peninsula respondents (18 per cent of total) reported feeling homesick while at boarding school out of the Peninsula. A further 43 (16 per cent) felt this way when they lived away during adulthood. Fifty-one out-migrants (64 per cent) reported experiencing homesickness since living away from the Peninsula, with this feeling most acute in the first year or two away.

Another 51 Peninsula respondents (19 per cent of total) had lived overseas - not including wartime service - during their lives. This "overseas experience" is commonplace among New Zealanders. These respondents sometimes told me of "culture shock" and strong feelings for "home" during their first one or two years away, but for most of them this experience was too far in the past to provide me with details of those feelings. The foreign immigrants who were interviewed on the Peninsula likewise felt some residual feelings of displacement, but most have more or less adapted to their new situation. Immigrants with under two years of residence reported feeling a bit "strange" at times due to the difficulties encountered, but they were still quite happy to continue living in the Peninsula.

The situation of immigrants to the Peninsula parallels that of out-migrants, as most of the latter group are more tied to their present locale than to the Peninsula. And so, most out-migrants are in a process of diminishing their ties to the Peninsula, while immigrants are doing the same for their ancestral homelands, whether consciously or not. A nostalgic feeling lingers on, and connections are often maintained in some form, but a commitment to return to the Peninsula or to those homelands permanently is seldom present. Of those out-migrants who are planning to return to the Peninsula, most are Maori respondents with strong cultural and family ties there.

It appears that displacement is a personal reaction to a forced or voluntary move into a foreign situation, with the negative effects predominating if one is young and/or put into a totally different culture. The initial effect is often extreme homesickness and depression. If the person does adapt to the new place and wants to remain there, the sense of place for the former home (or homeland) may diminish; if not, there is every likelihood of that person returning, especially if social ties remain; connections have been maintained; and some economic opportunity awaits the person there.

Feelings of displacement among foreign students and staff at the University of Canterbury are also considered in Chapter 11, as are my own feelings since I arrived in New Zealand. Displacement is a common phenomenon, giving an obverse view of sense of place. It tends to heighten the awareness of the previous place of residence in people's minds, sometimes causing them to return permanently (see Section 8.3). It also provides a means for people to understand the significance of their sense of place, and how it can lessen for a former place, but develop in a new one.

### 9.3 Summary

An understanding of respondents' sense of place in an individual manner is aided by first being aware of two broad themes - the development of sense of place and its lessening and loss - and then by examining that development in three stages: embryonic, commitment and culmination. In a subsidiary theme, respondents were divided into a number of clusters based on how they are developing their sense of place, with these clusters grouped into five different types of sense of place. These include superficial, partial, personal, ancestral and cultural senses of place. A sixth grouping, that of out-migrants, demonstrated the lessening and loss of sense of place, although some of these respondents are intending to move back to the Peninsula, thereby maintaining their sense of place for it.

By my qualitative analyses of respondents' senses of place, I was able to determine themes and patterns which arose from their data; these themes and patterns were not assumed beforehand. Eyles (1985) also categorized respondents from his field study into several types of sense of place (see Section 3.1), but these were not based on differences in development. Only three of his categories are appropriate to my results: "nostalgic" sense of place (which has had to be adapted to out-migrants); "apathetic-acquiescent" sense of place (for some transients); and "way of life" sense of place (for most farmers). His category of "roots" was part of the "ancestral" dimension in my definition of sense of place, while "family" and "social" were subsumed under my "social belonging" composite variable.

A brief overview of my five categories demonstrates their effectiveness in covering aspects of sense of place among my Peninsula sample (see also Fig. 9-1). Each cluster of respondents will be reviewed within these categories. Tourists only have a superficial sense of place in an aesthetic and recreational sense, although Maori visitors are more connected with

the Peninsula's social world. Transient respondents living in the Peninsula were found to have either a weak sense of place for the Peninsula or none at all: their superficial sense of place might develop more strongly if they remain on the Peninsula. However, because they have a "history of mobility", with over half of them moving on by the close of my research, this development may not eventuate. This is similar to the findings of Taylor and Townsend (1976), but they were describing professional people, whereas the Peninsula transients are more often from a lower socio-economic class.

The partial sense of place of long-term campers and holiday home owners is unlikely to develop further unless they decide to live permanently in the Peninsula. Those holiday home owners with ancestral ties to the Peninsula are more involved socially there and have a larger spatial extent to their sense of place. Peninsula school children have a partial sense of place due to their age, and are restricted by both their unselfconscious state regarding their place and by their movements around the Peninsula; they are thus still in an embryonic stage of sense of place development which will continue developing unless they move away.

Pakeha in-migrants (not including transients) and foreign immigrants have a more "personal" sense of place for the Peninsula, as they have no ancestral connections there. They take a long time to develop a strong sense of place, with New Zealanders having to endure the "blocking" tactics of Peninsula insiders as well in that development. On the other hand, immigrants most often develop a sense of place for their local area; are more cut-off from the Peninsula's social world; and have a greater "stake" in developing a strong sense of place, as they are far from their native homeland. After a few years of residence, both groups normally enter the commitment stage of development by intending to remain in the Peninsula. Those respondents with very long residence (over 30 or 40 years) reach the culmination stage and feel "part of" their place.

Peninsula respondents who are raised there have an "ancestral" sense of place, as they are born into their situation. Maori respondents also have more of a cultural sense of place due to the influence of their culture (see next chapter). The pakeha respondents develop their sense of place rapidly through their social status as "insiders", and because they are raised within an ancestral heritage. They are often in the commitment stage in their late 20s or early 30s, and reach the culmination stage as they near retirement.

As identified by Taylor and Townsend (1976), a person's stage in the life cycle is quite important in the development of the sense of place. Because my interviews only occurred at a "window" in respondents' lives, trends become more apparent across the sample when age groups are assessed. Children merely enjoying playing around their place as long as they have a secure home. Young adults are the most mobile group, often leaving the Peninsula for economic and educational opportunity (see Roseman and Oldakowski, 1984). Adults are very busy in their place, but also attain a settled feeling when they buy their own home and raise a family, thereby enhancing the development of their sense of place.

Mature adults are the most involved in the community, and start to realize the full extent of what sense of place means to their lives. Elderly people, particularly the "old-old" (beyond the early 70s in age), are the most residentially stable (see Rowles, 1978), and have the most developed sense of place, often feeling that they are part of it. They spend much time in reminiscence about their earlier life in their place. Maori respondents were found to enter this "old-old" phase at a slightly earlier age than pakeha due to the social status and cultural knowledge which they gain as *kaumatua*.

I also used several statistical analyses to quantitatively identify trends in aspects of respondents' senses of place across the whole Peninsula sample. I first developed a composite variable to measure the intensity of respondents' senses of place, using four indicators which they felt were essential to its development (insider status; place attachment; localized ancestry; and motivation to remain on the Peninsula). Two other composite variables are closely related to the development of that intensity: "residential status" and "social belonging". Composite indicators are more reliable, and more closely resemble how respondents view their place experiences.

Length of residence has previously been identified as central to the development of sense of place in several other studies (see Table 3-2). Peninsula respondents' feelings of social belonging are also tied in with their sense of place, in that kinship network, friends and community spirit combine to provide a social manifestation of their feelings, while strengthening those feelings at the same time. Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) particularly noted kinship and friends as important in influencing community sentiments.



Other variables examined in statistical analyses demonstrated the significance of such factors as aging, socio-economic status and awareness level to the development of the intensity of sense of place. The quantitative analyses thus brought out some new findings, and also strengthened my qualitative conclusions, showing how several aspects of sense of place are common across the sample (and subsets thereof) of Peninsula respondents.

An examination of Peninsula out-migrants' senses of place was used to illustrate how sense of place can be lost, or at least lessened, by moving away. Most respondents feel nostalgic for their former place, with many still feeling a part of the Peninsula's social world. As well, out-migrants -especially Maori - often made frequent trips back to the Peninsula, but only a small number were intending to move back. Out-migrants considering this move were usually Maori, and lived near the Peninsula in the Christchurch region. Maori out-migrants were further found to have a stronger intensity in their "nostalgic" sense of place than did pakeha, although the Maori sample is small in number and was not selected randomly, making this result less conclusive.

A similar pattern of out-migrant feelings for their former place was reported by Glendining (1978) in her investigation of out-migrants from Eketahuna (see Fig. 6-2). Eketahuna is a rural, farm-based community northeast of Wellington, of about 2,000 people. It has lost a lot of residents through mechanization, the rural economic downturn, and urban drift. Farmers in their prime left Eketahuna most frequently, usually in search of job opportunities or as part of a family unit.

Many of the 292 respondents who replied to Glendining's detailed, mailed questionnaires reported mixed feelings for their former place. They liked the neighbours, friends and recreational opportunities they had there, but were dissatisfied with shopping, access to higher education and employment opportunities in the town. The geographical characteristics of Eketahuna and its environs were not considered in this study, excepting for the climate, which was disliked more than it was liked by respondents. The study also did not report how many respondents were considering returning to Eketahuna.

And so, an examination of out-migrant responses, seldom done in geographical research, can show an obverse view of sense of place. Displacement studies are particularly useful in this regard, as they focus attention on the emotional ramifications of leaving one's

familiar place setting. Homesickness and culture shock are common phenomena and should be targetted as important dimensions in future sense of place research, as should dislikes and likes in the previous place of residence. Such research expands the conceptual scope of sense of place to include negative experiences, as these are often the reason that people left their place.

The contextual effects of physical environment, culture, society, home environment and community on respondents' senses of place are also important to the development of sense of place. These effects are not as strongly linked to the development of sense of place in most respondents' minds, as such contexts are often taken for granted after long residence (see Chapter 8). In addition, a typical approach in previous studies of sense of place and/or place attachment has been to study individuals as divorced from their context(s). A review of these contexts can therefore relate individual responses from people to the whole elements which affect their day-to-day lives and the development of their sense of place.

In this chapter I have reviewed both the development and the reduction of sense of place feelings from an individual point of view. In the next chapter I place respondents' place feelings in an environmental and social context, enabling a fuller understanding of both the character of respondents' senses of place and of the ways in which those senses of place developed.

## CHAPTER 10

### CONTEXTUAL EFFECTS ON RESPONDENTS' SENSES OF PLACE

Banks Peninsula residents live within several different contexts. There is the physical environment, which has been made into a cultural landscape. There is the larger New Zealand society within which all residents participate, as well as that of Banks Peninsula. Cultural effects also derive from the two principal cultures of New Zealand, Maori and pakeha, with more obvious influences from culture on the sense of place of Maori. On a more personal level there is the family, both nuclear and extended, and the home environment. Peninsula families are often situated within a local community, either within one that is loosely defined and dispersed or within one that is compact and closely knit. The community is the public arena where sense of place is enacted and manifested. Both physical environment and a number of social contexts will thus be examined in this chapter.

Different contexts are both inter-related and layered upon each other, however, making an assessment of their effects somewhat difficult. Peninsula respondents' senses of place need to be discussed in context, though, as individual respondents do not live in a vacuum. Through social influences, an emotionally neutral "space" - Banks Peninsula - has been made into a human "place". Respondents have created their environments and had their senses of place affected by those environments. The extent of these reciprocal effects will become clear by the close of this chapter.

Effects from the physical environment, together with the cultural landscape, will be reviewed in the first section. Societal effects on a nationwide scale will then be discussed. The third section deals with the cultural context, primarily reviewing cultural influences on Maori sense of place. The family and home environment is considered in the fourth section, while the local community context, together with the effects of "place change" (changes to their place), is reviewed in the fifth section.

Most respondents took their various contexts for granted, as these are part of their everyday lives. They often mentioned this at the close of interviews:

. . . the things you take for granted without thinking about them very much until someone comes and brings it to notice. I think we take a lot of the beauty of the place for granted; we see it every day . . . (Elizabeth Armstrong).

(Elizabeth and Ted Armstrong are in their 70s and retired from farming in Akaroa; she came to the Peninsula over 40 years ago, while he has lived in Akaroa for most of his life.)

However, some respondents separated out different contextual effects on their own sense of place in the interviews, particularly Maori on cultural influences. And so, where possible, quotations from respondents illustrate points made in the text. Statistical analyses are sometimes employed to show trends in the data.

The partitioning of respondents' contexts into different compartments is in some respects artificial, as culture, society, physical environment, family/home, and community all affect a person at the same time. However, such compartmentalization clarifies a discussion of contextual effects on respondents' senses of place. It also enables the case study itself to be placed in a broader context, that of modern and indigenous peoples, in the next chapter.

### 10.1 The Physical Environment Context

The physical environment of Banks Peninsula affects respondents' sense of place in several ways. There are topographical and climatic influences on settlement patterns and land uses. There is the cultural landscape too, which gives the physical environment certain qualities, as perceived by respondents, evoking positive and negative feelings depending on the attribute. Effects from the physical environment are detailed first, followed by those from the cultural landscape. Other contexts that have affected respondents' feelings of sense of place also occur within the physical environment in which they live, but these influences are more socially derived.

The physical environment of the Peninsula is varied for human habitation, containing deep valleys, remote bays, ridge lines, and flat lands on the edge of the Canterbury Plains. Because of this topography and the cultural character of the peoples that settled the Peninsula, residents have tended to settle in a few wide valleys and along shores of the two principal harbours. As a result of treaties between Maori and the British Crown in the 1840s, Maori residents most often live on small reserves at Onuku, Little River, Port Levy and Rapaki, with

a few also settled in Akaroa and Birdlings Flat. Pakeha are concentrated in Akaroa and in a few smaller outer bays, where homes tend to be less clustered.

The form of land use preferred by the majority of pakeha living in the Peninsula over the past three decades - pastoral farming - has resulted in a dispersed settlement pattern over most of the Peninsula: individual farms are often situated on large blocks of land. And so, many inhabitants live far from their neighbours, with a few located in very isolated parts of the Peninsula at the ends of long, winding mountainous roads. The hills prove to be a barrier to social interaction (see Photo 7-2). The following three respondents testify to the effects of living in relative isolation, the first commenting on social life and the other two on the distance to Christchurch amenities beyond the mountain barrier of the Hilltop:

- #1 You have to work really hard at it [social contacts], and it's very much an on-again, off-again with people. It's not easy. It's fine to say we have this fine and lovely telephone now, but, you know when I first came to live here all my friends who live along the Peninsula were a toll call, so you know if I talked on the telephone to them for any length of time it was going to cost an awful lot of money. (Gay Menzies).

(Gay and Rick Menzies are in their mid-40s and live on their farm in Menzies Bay; she moved to the Peninsula over 20 years ago.)

- #2 It [Akaroa] is a little more remote from those things the city has to offer, that I certainly would appreciate. You don't just go to the theatre [in Christchurch] casually . . . it is a planned thing, and you've got the psychological and the geographical hazard and the barrier of the hill [over the Hilltop], which is not insuperable, but it is a bit off-putting. I'm more used to it now, but I still think it is a drawback to the Peninsula. (Jim Holderness).

(Jim and Lois Holderness are retired in Akaroa. He farmed for most of his life in Gebbies Valley, toward Christchurch, only moving to Akaroa 10 years ago; Lois formerly lived in Stoney Bay.)

- #3 There is a cost. It's this hill in between here and Little River that I personally feel that if that wasn't there you'd feel a lot less isolated. We are only an hour from Christchurch, but it's a long hour, a windy, long road too. (Robin Reynish).

(Robin and Sue, both in their mid-30s, farm land on the east side of Pigeon Bay. He was raised there, while Sue moved in eight years prior to the interview.)

Because of the Peninsula's topography, many residents have not seen the greater part of their own region, and have seldom ventured to more remote bays:

- #4 About 20 years ago we started up a flock competition on Banks Peninsula, and it took in the whole of Kaituna [Valley], all over the place, breeding [sheep], you know, the competition thing? Well, they had so many people travelling around that . . . because there was somebody in Flea Bay had sheep entered and somebody in Ladbrooks and somebody in Hickory [Bay], well the people that were on that competition said, you know, it was the first time, and I've lived on the Peninsula all my life . . . I've never been to Flea Bay, I've never been to Ladbrooks. And, it's the same thing that applied to the people in Flea Bay. They'd never been to a lot of the other areas and it was

surprising just how many people that there were that said that this was the first time that they'd been here. Yet they'd lived on the Peninsula all their lives. (Ross Stanbury).

(Ross and Nancy are farmers in their 50s; they have lived in Little River almost all their lives.)



Photo 10-1: Menzies Bay, isolated on the northeastern shore of Banks Peninsula.  
One family lives here full time.

Photo 10-1 is included to show a typical home's setting in an isolated bay.

There is also a difference in acceptance of these topographical barriers between new residents and those who have been brought up there:

We often find we have friends that come [to their home above Okains Bay] . . . they're absolutely horrified at how isolated it is. We never look at it in that sense; we think how lucky we are to be here, actually, even though the roads are bad and what have you. (Peter Thelning).

The thing is, we were brought up here and we . . . (Cynthia). We knew what to expect. (Peter).

[We] found it easy to come back [to move back from Rangiora] and . . . we were quite happy to stay here and you didn't have a very big social life when we came here or anything and I don't imagine we still do, but, I mean, some people coming in, if they didn't know anybody and a lot of the people say "hello" and that, but they don't really live in each other's doorsteps. That might be quite hard for a person coming in being used to that, you know? And I guess probably a lot of people might be fairly shy and not go out of their way or be able to go and start talking to a new person, if you'd come into the area like that. (Cynthia).

(Peter and Cynthia are in their mid-thirties, and run a dairy farm above Okains Bay; they lived for a few years in Rangiora, near Christchurch, before returning to live permanently in the Peninsula.)

Some respondents never accept the steep hillsides which "box" people in to a degree.

Comments from one out-migrant are included to illustrate this point:

Well, coming from Christchurch which is flat and open . . . after I moved into the Bay [Okains Bay], the hills used to come in and crush me. I was all right when I was well, but that was something that affected me very much then. (Edith Curry)

(Edith is in her mid-70s, and now lives in Christchurch. She lived in Okains Bay for 21 years, leaving 23 years prior to being interviewed.)

Isolation is seen as an advantage (for privacy), and/or as a detraction on Peninsula life by different respondents. A feeling of freedom by being out in the open spaces is a benefit to some, especially when coupled with the nature of the landscape and climate:

#### #1 The isolation. (Diana Harper).

You could be miles away from anywhere, but you're only just over an hour away from Christchurch. (Gerald).

And you get right away from everything. And the landscape, and the bush, and my garden . . . (Diana).

We're lucky having the bush and the hills and the sea all together. (Gerald).

We get some winds 'round the tops of the hills, and we get some lovely views, especially in mid-morning in the winter. We can look across the Plains and mountains, see Mount Cook. We see down as far as Otago Peninsula on a really clear day. And the Hunter Hills in behind Timaru. (Diana).

(Gerald and Diana Harper had lived in Te Oka Bay for 14 years prior to being interviewed. They are in their late 30s, and are farmers.)

#### #2 Being up on the hill like this, I like the proximity to the sky really. Being in the weather is a nice thing. Being completely exposed to the elements I think is really enjoyable. The aloneness here . . . I like that. Isolation is the word. Yeah. And I feel a certain security here, you know, that if I chose to go out and face the world I can, and I can stay here on the hill. Security I guess is the word for that. (Peter McKay).

Yeah. Being so familiar here, I think, I find myself growing more and more towards it, like, I feel I appreciate the beauty of the place more now than I ever had, and it grows around you . . . (Peter).

(Peter McKay is a silversmith and part-time farmer in his late 30s. He was raised in Le Bons Bay, and has remained there, despite the recession).

Living far from other people and services and the high cost of travel are seen as difficulties, though, by other respondents (see Table 8-2), while living close to other rural families, clustered by topography into a confined area, can also be a problem:

#### #3 A small community, although it has all those advantages, is also quite stifling in that you can't actually do anything without everybody knowing what you are doing or being

criticized for it, and I don't particularly like that feeling of . . . you can't have a dinner party and ask a few people for dinner without offending somebody, because there is only so few people of your certain age group. I never noticed it when I first got here, and one of my neighbours said to me that "your honeymoon period in Pigeon Bay is over", and I was quite oblivious to start with, and you suddenly realize that there are all these little . . . it's a small community. And probably, particularly these little bays, because we are physically isolated into a little . . . and that's why we sort of, really, feel quite drawn to Christchurch for our social [life], don't we? (Sue Reynish).

(Robin and Sue live in Pigeon Bay; they were quoted earlier in this section.)

Isolation and privacy were mentioned as a "like" within the Peninsula by 18 per cent of respondents, while only five percent thought of it as a "dislike" (see Table 8-2). However, among out-migrants, living in the close confines of a small community on the Peninsula was an important dislike: 14 per cent of out-migrants did not like Peninsula conservatism and narrow-mindedness, while 10 per cent did not like petty gossip; for Peninsula respondents, the figures were nine per cent for each of these dislikes.

To try to determine whether certain aspects of the physical environment had a significant effect on the intensity of Peninsula respondents' senses of place, a series of oneway ANOVA analyses were conducted on three variables with nominal data: "landscape setting of home"; "location on the Peninsula"; and "topographic setting of home site" (Table 10-1). Intensity of sense of place was found to be affected by these locational variables, with significant differences found between the means of intensity of sense of place for respondents who lived in large, outer bays and other categories of respondents (see Table 10-1). In all three variables, however, there was little variation in the mean scores of intensity of sense of place between categories, and these were often low, demonstrating that categorization by locational variables is less effective analytically.

Since pakeha transients lived in outer bays and dispersed settlements (12 out of 13 transients), their data may have affected the oneway ANOVA analyses of these locational variables. To tell whether these results were unduly affected by their presence in the sample, analyses were repeated for a sample of 257 respondents, excluding these transients. I recalculated the composite variable, using the same procedure described in Section 9.1.1. When the oneway ANOVA analyses were conducted, the same results (in Table 10-1) were found as with 270 respondents, although the significance level for "location on the Peninsula" changed somewhat (to  $F$  probability  $< .03$ ).



Table 10-1 Oneway analysis of variance: Peninsula respondents by three locational factors.

Variable	Category	n	<u>Intensity of Sense of Place</u>	
			Mean	Standard Deviation
1. <u>Peninsula Location</u>	Birdlings & Port Levy (& towards Christchurch)	35	.54	2.31
	L. River area	19	.94	2.12
	Outer Bays and Ridges	119	- .88	3.31
	Akaroa Harbour	13	.79	2.63
	Akaroa & area	84	.69	2.37
2. <u>Topographic Setting of Home</u>	isolated bay	31	.10	2.32
	ridges/hillsides	69	.42	3.07
	larger bay	64	- .38	3.45
	flat land (Plains edge)	22	.28	2.46
	valley (not to a bay)	23	1.06	1.89
	urban (Akaroa)	61	.42	2.36
3. <u>Landscape Setting of Home</u>	sea or lake nearby	50	.30	2.23
	fairly open	102	.18	3.06
	wooded	22	.54	2.21
	dispersed settlement	42	- 1.81	3.54
	townsite	54	.56	2.38

Note. 1. N = 270; F probability < .001.

2. Significant differences (using Duncan multiple ranges test at  $p < .05$ ):

Peninsula Location - all categories from outer bays and ridges

Topographic Setting - all categories from larger bays

Landscape Setting - all categories from dispersed settlements

Subsets of the whole sample were also examined using oneway ANOVA analyses to see whether the same relationships would hold between intensity of sense of place and the locational variables. Two groups with large enough sample sizes to permit subdivision were used in the analyses: pakeha respondents raised on the Peninsula, and pakeha who had moved on to the Peninsula (non-transient, non-immigrant).

Only the group who had been raised on the Peninsula still showed significant differences for two variables between categories when these oneway ANOVA analyses were conducted. Concerning the "topographic setting of home", there are significant differences in means of intensity of sense of place between "ridges/hillsides" and three other categories: "isolated bay", "larger bay", and "flat land" ( $F$  probability  $< .005$ : Table 10-2). The analysis of "landscape setting of home" produced similar results as shown in Table 10-1, except that the mean of intensity of sense of place in the category "dispersed settlement" was no longer significantly different from "wooded", and that of "sea or lake nearby" was now different from "wooded" ( $F$  probability  $< .008$ : Table 10-2).

The statistical results, especially those for subsets of the whole sample, demonstrate that examining the variability of intensity of sense of place among Peninsula respondents in this fashion is not very fruitful: locational variables appear to have little influence on the development of their sense of place. Larger sample sizes may have produced different results, but I do not believe that this is likely, owing to my examination of qualitative material concerning the community context: respondents in outer bays have been subjected to a gradual decline in their communities, in population, services, and involvement in community clubs. This qualitative material is presented in Section 10.5.

And so, the Peninsula's topography affects respondents' senses of place in several different ways, both isolating them and providing a sense of freedom, as well as affecting the shape and nature of Peninsula communities. A short discussion of the cultural landscape will conclude this section, and provide insights on its effects on their sense of place.

Localized ancestry is a vital ingredient of sense of place among Peninsula respondents who were raised there (see Chapters 8 and 9): 83 per cent of respondents with such ancestry - Maori and pakeha - thought that it was important in the development of their sense of place. Most of the land on the Peninsula, however, is in the hands of pakeha. English farming

practices have made the landscape resemble a large, open pasture (see Photos 7-1 and 7-2). This cultural landscape is basically European in character, leaving little room for the expression of Maori culture.

Table 10-2 Oneway analysis of variance: Pakeha raised on the Peninsula by two locational factors.

Variable	Category	n	<u>Intensity of Sense of Place</u>	
			Mean	Standard Deviation
1. <u>Topographic Setting of Home</u>	isolated bay	14	.96	1.40
	ridges/hillsides	35	2.53	1.64
	larger bay	27	1.06	1.99
	flat land			
	(Plains edge)	12	.91	2.10
	valley			
	(not to a bay)	12	1.71	1.81
2. <u>Landscape Setting of Home</u>	urban (Akaroa)	26	2.02	1.51
	sea or lake			
	nearby	22	1.16	1.68
	fairly open	53	1.96	1.75
	wooded	9	2.70	1.12
	dispersed			
	settlement	17	.57	2.31
	townsite	25	2.05	1.53

Note. 1.  $F$  probability < .005. (N = 126).

2. Significant differences between categories (using Duncan multiple ranges test at  $p < .05$ ):

Topographic Setting - "isolated bay", "larger bay", and "flat land" from ridges/hillsides"

Landscape Setting - "fairly open", "wooded", and "townsite" from "dispersed settlement" - "wooded" from "sea or lake nearby:"

Such dominance allows pakeha residents to take both their social "place" in Peninsula society (i.e. their position in the Peninsula's social hierarchy) and the nature of the landscape for granted, as they are in control of most of the changes to that environment. Changes to the Peninsula's landscape due to pakeha patterns of land use have sometimes made the land feel foreign to some Peninsula *kaumatua*, such as Henry Robinson. Following a traditional Maori view, *kaumatua* would rather see much of the land returned to native bush, which would also

minimize erosion of the hills. To these Maori the spiritual source of the land still resides in the forest, the home of *Tane*. They may have the sea nearby for fishing and seafood harvesting, but the land, their tribal home, has been alienated from them through the mechanisms of pakeha land ownership and landscape change.

Most pakeha who have been raised on the Peninsula feel very safe in their "created" environment, much more so than in the city. They take pride in the place that their ancestors and themselves have "carved out of the wilderness":

[I like] land as the pioneers have made it. I think that that would be honest. 'Cause I was brought up, you know, on the hills behind mobs of sheep, bringing them down. Brought up in the [sheep] yards, and I love the smell of the sea and love the smell of the sheep. (Josephine de Latour).

(Josephine and Peter are in their early 50s and 60s, respectively, and are retired in Akaroa from farming in Laverick's Bay, where she was raised.)

Only a few lament the loss of the Peninsula's native forest, although many still like exploring the forest that remains: 33 per cent of all Peninsula respondents like "nature" there (see Table 8-2).

Some respondents, both Maori and pakeha (24 per cent of total: Table 8-2) are concerned about increased tourism to Akaroa, with residents uniting in their resistance to the annual summer "invasion" of their place. The effect on respondents of changes made to the cultural landscape to accommodate tourists and holiday makers are discussed in the Section 10.5. In such ways Peninsula respondents display their territoriality as well; the effect of topography on the development of localized territoriality was discussed earlier in Chapter 8.

It is therefore possible to see how the Peninsula's physical environment and cultural landscape both affect that territoriality, which works to keep the landscape appearing much the same, as desired primarily by pakeha landowners. Because qualities of the Peninsula's landscape were noted to have a large effect on the character of respondents' senses of place (see Section 8.1.2), it is interesting that a status quo is being maintained environmentally to keep that character much the same. However, social effects on sense of place are probably more powerful. The next four sections will detail these effects within four different contexts: societal; cultural; home and family; community.

## 10.2 The Societal Context

Societal effects on Banks Peninsula respondents' senses of place are reviewed in this section. Societal influences at the national level are strongest with pakeha respondents because of the monocultural inclination of New Zealand society toward European culture. However, these influences affect Maori people as well. Among these factors are behavioural traits common to New Zealanders, as well as recreational orientations; nationalism; ways of life, both country and city; and economic variables. These will be examined in turn below, followed by a brief summary to note the importance of societal effects on pakeha sense of place.

Pakeha respondents were seldom found to be aware of the extent of societal influences and their effects on sense of place. This became very clear during the individual interviews, when few respondents were able to articulate a response to a question about societal effects; instead, they often wanted me to clarify this question for them. A similar reaction occurred during extensive questions on this topic in group discussions with Okains Bay and Akaroa respondents. Maori respondents did not consider these influences very often either, focussing instead on influences from their own culture. However, they were aware that they had been dominated by the pakeha system, and were not very appreciative of that fact.

Immigrants often noticed qualities about New Zealanders that they themselves take for granted:

I see New Zealanders in such ease with their place. With the life that's like going to the beach. It's one of those things evolved I suppose over years, and it's a way of using this country too, to its best advantage, and to be happy with what they're doing there. Sitting on the beach . . . (Penny Wenlock).

(Penny and Martin moved to Te Oka Bay from England three years prior to being interviewed; he commutes daily to Christchurch to work.)

Peninsula respondents' hospitable nature; their relaxed way of life; and an emphasis on conforming behaviour were especially noticeable during interviews, due largely to the rural setting of the research. Such behavioural traits affect their sense of place as well, since they feel more at home in their place through their group conformity and friendly manner. One respondent told me that New Zealanders tend to feel "at home" anywhere in New Zealand:

I get the impression that New Zealanders by and large, at least urban New Zealanders, are at home wherever they are. I can't say that for rural New Zealanders. Of course, my basic experience of rural New Zealand has been Canterbury. (David Lewis).

(David and Sally moved to Le Bons Bay from the United States 11 years prior to being interviewed; he is a potter and part-time farmer, while she journeys regularly to Christchurch as a social worker.)

New Zealanders, particularly pakeha, often travel overseas to "see the world", in the process gaining some perspective on their country. Such overseas experience, or "O.E." as it is referred to in New Zealand, was attained through travels by 64 per cent of Peninsula respondents, and by living overseas for a period of time by 19 per cent of respondents (note that these numbers overlap; see also Table 8-1). Being far away from "home" for a long period of time enabled them to more clearly see the importance of their sense of place for New Zealand, as well as for the Peninsula (see Section 8.3).

The insular, parochial nature of New Zealanders is evident to international visitors, although this may be challenged by some residents (see Chapter 6). This parochialism and insularity is much stronger on the Peninsula, with resistance to change very forthright. Territoriality is boosted by the Peninsula's topography, making it seem like an island (see Sections 8.1 and 8.4). Two out-migrants particularly referred to these qualities of Peninsula society. Anne Davison told me that it has an "island mentality", since it is cut off from the mainland (she lives in Christchurch, is in her early 70s, and was raised in Pigeon Bay); James Moore stated that "people there are inclined to think that the world doesn't exist outside the little valley they live in" (he lives in Christchurch, is in his late 60s, and was raised in Okains Bay).

These New Zealand societal characteristics thus occur at the Peninsula level in an enhanced form. Because of these characteristics, a strong feeling of insideness characterizes sense of place on the Peninsula. There is also defensiveness against "outsider" meddling in Peninsula affairs, which is much the same at the national level. The Peninsula level of defensiveness extends toward new residents of the Peninsula as well, negatively affecting the development of their sense of place (see Section 8.2.3 and Section 9.1.3). The relative isolation and insular nature of Banks Peninsula has further meant that, until recently, societal effects were not as direct. However, increased communications, trips to Christchurch and further afield, and visits by tourists are gradually reducing both isolation and parochialism in the Peninsula.

The "mateship" phenomenon common among New Zealand menfolk is also present among most pakeha Peninsula males, from adolescence onwards. Some respondents who

were new residents, brought up in urban situations and/or overseas, did not display this quality. An egocentered focus was observed among pakeha males in the teenager/young adult age group of respondents as well, such as is found among many New Zealanders of similar years.

Being a "real Kiwi bloke" means being heavily involved in sports and drinking alcohol, while seldom showing or talking about emotions, especially to a stranger (see Chapter 6). This trait affects sense of place through not wanting to publicly acknowledge the significance of such feelings, especially in front of one's mates. Such a characteristic may in fact reduce the importance of sense of place if practised long enough. This orientation to "blosedom" was observed to carry on among some older, pakeha respondents, thus going well beyond the adolescent stage of life. A more "functional" relationship with their place (i.e. 'you have to live somewhere') was found amongst these respondents, with sense of place not seen as a significant part of their lives.

Sports competitions, at Peninsula, national and international levels, are integral to Peninsula respondents' recreational activities: local contests were mentioned often, and interviews had to sometimes be rescheduled due to national and international cricket and rugby tests on television, with the former sport sometimes being telecast for four days in a row. The importance of local sports to sense of place derives from the social interaction involved, as is seen in the following quotation:

We [in the Peninsula] play a lot of cricket or rugby. (Penny Wenlock).

It's easy to be dismissive of the traditions that New Zealand has, but I see very clearly now that to survive in the countryside you do need certain support, community support, and the fact that it has turned out to be support . . . I think it is unfortunate that I never had the upbringing to suit me to it. It's something that, with a bit of effort, I might come to in some years to come. I think if you are going to live in a country you are certainly going to have to fit in with what everyone else does, because they've been doing it a lot longer than any other new ideas oneself may have. (Martin).

Even wives and children go to these sporting events, the whole Bay - they go to cricket and they spend the whole day there until midnight. It's like the rugby that I went to last Saturday . . . I think that I was the only mother that took her son to rugby. All the rest were fathers. (Penny; Penny was also quoted above).

Other recreational activities are also important to New Zealanders in general, and to Peninsula respondents in particular. These include going to the beach, hiking, boating and fishing. These types of activities were often missed by respondents when they were overseas (see

Section 8.3), drawing them "home" again. Thus their sense of place is partially bound to these forms of recreation.

Peninsula respondents who were brought up in New Zealand have a strong pride in their country, which is very apparent during international sports contests. When such nationalism occurs, it also boosts sense of place for New Zealanders, as they feel that it is their place on a national scale, and consequently feel more a part of their nation. Nationalism is also evident in the recollections of wartime experiences by older respondents. Eleven of these respondents who had fought for their country in World War Two, emphasized that these experiences are significant in realizing their sense of place feelings for both New Zealand and the Peninsula; many of these respondents are still heavily involved in the local Retired Serviceman's Association, almost 45 years after the close of the war.

Besides traditional Maori and pakeha ways of life in New Zealand, there are also country and city ways of life. The effect of the latter two lifestyles will be discussed briefly here to note societal influences. Small town life is much the same throughout rural New Zealand. The importance of community events, such as the annual A & P shows (Agriculture and Pastoral) in Duvauchelle and Little River, was evident during interviews on the Peninsula (see Photo 10-1), as was the key role of certain community members in the functioning of their community. Community interaction and gossip are also strong features of a country lifestyle (see Chapter 8).

The desire to live in the country, away from the rush and congestion of the city, was very strong among most respondents. An urban way of life was seen as congested with people, busy, polluted, unfriendly and too mobile, with urban dwellers often moving from place to place (see Chapter 8). Some urban activities are valued by Peninsula respondents, such as amenities and shopping, and they may visit friends and relatives in the city, but the country is their home.

However, urban problems had recently intruded into their country domain. An increase in crime rates, unemployment rates, and the cost of consumer goods had come to the Peninsula in the late 1980s; a decrease in government services and farm subsidies had also hit the farming community hard. The restructuring of local government had caused a forced amalgamation of four county councils into a single entity (see Fig. 7-3).





Photo 10-2: Murray Thacker leading his team of bullocks at the 1989 Duvauchelle A & P Show.

Some or all of these changes combine to affect respondents' senses of place. The stress from rapid change on several fronts, as well as from place changes (see Section 10.5) and the drought of 1988-89, meant that Peninsula respondents were often of two minds when interviewed: some were considering moving if times got worse. If a respondent did move, his or her sense of place would then resemble that of the out-migrants described in Chapter 9. Although 22 out of 270 respondents did move away from the Peninsula during my research for a variety of reasons, with half of these leaving because of problems with the local economy. As one respondent pointed out, though, he still preferred the Peninsula:

There are opportunities to move away. You'd be better off farming elsewhere in New Zealand, you know, selling up, farming elsewhere, but it hasn't caused me to do so yet. I prefer to stay here while I can. (Francis Helps).

(Francis and Shireen are in their early 40s and 30s, respectively, were raised in the Peninsula, and lived in Flea Bay when interviewed, running a pastoral farm there. They have since moved to Akaroa to make trips to school easier for their children.)

By the close of 1989, much of the pressure from these changes had eased, and the drought was over. Most respondents carried on within the Peninsula; of the ones who left, only two had fled New Zealand entirely to go to Australia.

A few Peninsula respondents pointed out, though, that changes to the economics of farming over the past few decades have forced many Peninsula residents to move to the city seeking employment, thus reducing the local population and consequently the membership of community clubs. Most of the school-leavers move off the Peninsula, and will probably never return as permanent residents, since there are limited employment opportunities there; they would probably have formed bonds to their new place by then as well. And so, the New Zealand economy affects younger respondents' sense of place indirectly, with an urban drift of population still continuing.

A final societal effect involves the gradual re-orientation of New Zealand toward becoming a more bi-cultural and even a multi-cultural country. Tensions in race relations have become a feature of New Zealand society in the late 1980s as Maori struggle for more recognition of their cultural heritage in the national scene (see Chapter 6). During my fieldwork on the Peninsula, this change in race relations often became a topic of discussion, but at the national level. Tensions between local (resident) Maori and pakeha were almost absent. The fact that these Maori are well integrated into Peninsula society has meant that antagonism seldom occurs along race lines there. This is probably due to the small population of Maori, and to their level of cultural assimilation. Their Maori culture is still present, however, and influences Maori respondents' sense of place strongly. Its presence was not as discernible to pakeha, though, even to many long-term residents. The influence of Maori culture on their sense of place will be described in full in the next section, as will cultural effects on pakeha respondents' senses of place.

### 10.3 The Cultural Context

Cultural influences on Maori and pakeha senses of place are first compared briefly in this section. Cultural influences on Maori sense of place on Banks Peninsula are then detailed.

Maori respondents' senses of place for the Peninsula were described previously in Chapter 8; in Chapter 11 the cultural influences described here are put into a pan-tribal context.

Pakeha respondents on the Peninsula seemed largely to take for granted the effects of their cultural system on their own sense of place. There were many local examples of pakeha rituals to solidify place connections, such as going to church, family weddings, sporting contests and community events. However, such local phenomena were not linked in respondents' minds to their broader cultural system. Similarly, the effect of outside influences on New Zealand society, particularly British and American, were not mentioned as being relevant to a discussion of their own sense of place (see Chapter 11).

On the other hand, Maori culture was found to have a large effect on whether or not Maori respondents felt part of their place. Development of Maori respondents' senses of place varied, with Maori who were not as close to their culture being more akin to pakeha in that development. For purposes of analysis, Peninsula Maori respondents were grouped into the resident tribe of the Peninsula - Irakehu Ngai Tahu - and other tribes. This distinction was made because Maori who had moved on to the Peninsula displayed a variety of attributes: some were still tied to their tribal home elsewhere (their *turangawaewae*, or place to stand); others had adopted the Irakehu *hapu*, also participating in the wider Peninsula society; and a few transients had little sense of place for any place in which they had lived (see Section 9.1.1).

To ascertain whether the intensity of sense of place varied between Maori and pakeha Peninsula respondents, I used a oneway ANOVA analysis. A significant difference was found between Maori and various sub-groups of pakeha (see Table 8-4), but no difference was found when all pakeha and Maori respondents were compared. However, I had discovered an appreciable difference between Maori and pakeha out-migrants (see Section 9.2).

Among out-migrants differences in the character of Maori and pakeha senses of place are apparent in that Maori travelled back to the Peninsula more frequently on average, as they are still very connected socially to Peninsula Maori, through both family ties and cultural rituals. And so, an examination of qualitative data seemed most appropriate to find differences between Peninsula Maori and pakeha in the way in which the former group's sense of place had developed.

It took me over a year of fieldwork and many lengthy conversations with *kaumatua* to determine that most Maori respondents' senses of place on Banks Peninsula had developed culturally, especially those of *kaumatua*. Among pakeha, though, the cultural influence was not as strong (see also Sub-sections 9.1.3 and 9.1.4 on pakeha respondents' senses of place). I based my assessment of the status of Maori culture on the Peninsula on qualitative data from attendance at several *hui* (formal tribal meetings), usually held on a *marae*, and other cultural events on the Peninsula; conversing at length on many occasions with Peninsula *kaumatua*; and interviews held with the majority of Peninsula Maori, not including those of Rapaki and Taumutu (see Fig. 7-4).

I considered interviewing Maori at these two locations since they are part of the Irakehu *hapu*, but Arthur Couch, a *kaumatua* who lives at Rapaki, told me that most of the younger Maori of Rapaki have little to do with the Maori who live in the outer Peninsula. The people of Rapaki are also more connected socially with Christchurch than with the Peninsula, as the city is only a few kilometers distant. No Maori was in permanent residence at Taumutu during my fieldwork period. And so, my fieldwork on Maori sense of place was concentrated on the outer Peninsula.

I interviewed almost all of the resident, adult Maori on the outer Peninsula (29 in total, of whom 19 are Irakehu). This may seem like a small number of people to maintain a cultural way of life. However, I saw these numbers increase to 150 to 200 Maori when out-migrants joined residents for important ceremonies, such as *tangi* (Maori funeral service), memorial services (e.g. a headstone unveiling) and weddings.

The *hui* which I attended were also well subscribed by both resident Maori and out-migrants, with between 25 and 50 persons present each time. These *hui* were held for different reasons, including a review of Government initiatives, such as the Royal Commission on Social Policy, and developing policy on the fisheries claim by Maori tribes; to prepare for the Ngai Tahu land claims; and to teach local Maori *kawa* (*marae* protocol) and *whai-korero*. A *hui* at Tutehuarewa *marae* (Port Levy) in late October, 1988, was apparently the first gathering of *kaumatua* from the four main Peninsula *marae* in many years; I attended another *hui* at Onuku *marae* in late January, 1990, which included many of these members again. This recent

*hui* was held in preparation for commemorative ceremonies on the Peninsula in May, 1990, to mark 150 years since the local signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Because of the small population of Maori on the Peninsula, and the fact that no resident was fluent in Maori when my fieldwork commenced, on first examination Maori respondents appeared similar to pakeha in their sense of place. However, subtle differences first became apparent, and then these differences became more significant through the following means: learning more about Maori culture through my Peninsula experiences; studying Maori culture and language at the University of Canterbury; conversations held outside the Peninsula with Maori knowledgeable on *tikanga-Maori* (Maori customs); and a trip that I made to Maori tribal areas in the North Island (see Chapter 7).

What was immediately evident was that to Maori on the Peninsula their status as either transient/resident and Iakehu Ngai Tahu/other tribes is very important. Quotations from these two types of respondents were presented in Sub-section 8.2.2. Iakehu tribal members regard their own *marae* on the Peninsula as their *turangawaewae*. During tribal ceremonies that I witnessed on Peninsula *marae*, they acted as the *tangata whenua*, the host tribe.

The welcoming spirit of Maori was also noticeable during my fieldwork: they would not let me leave without a full stomach, serving copious amounts of good *kai* (food), which showed their feelings of *aroha* (love, in its widest sense). This spirit was strongest when I was with groups of Maori in their homes. Maori respondents also seemed uncomfortable when they were treated as individuals; they were much more animated and relaxed when together as a group. There was a feeling of "suspension of time" when I was with Maori in group situations, as if there was no rush for me to leave, for them to make comments, or for anything to move rapidly.

As well as this time sense, they often mentioned a feeling that their ancestors (*tipuna*) were still around them, directing their actions. When questioned about this, they showed a strong belief in the presence of their *tipuna*: they did not just think that this was idle superstition:

I feel, oh it's so hard to explain . . . when I first came in here I sort of felt, you know, coming into a strange place, that . . . and I can feel it, you know, I can feel . . . I don't know, there's something that you sort of, think of, somebody's looking at you, watching you, you know? When my mother came down (to the Peninsula from the North Island) she asked "Is something troubling you?" And I said "No, I just feel as if somebody is behind me all the time." She said "Oh well, it's only just people keeping

an eye on you." I'd sooner stay here, even if I had to stay on my own, because I feel secure . . . (Milly Robinson).

(Milly and Henry live in Onuku; he is Irakehu, and the *Upoko Runanga*, or head of relations for Akaroa and Onuku. She is Ngati Kahungunu, Ngati Porou and Ngapuhi, and moved to the Peninsula 31 years prior to the interview.)

Many tribal elders still hold grudges against tribes or *hapu* who warred with their *hapu* long ago in the past, acting as if this is part of their own memory. The *kai huanga*, or "eat relation", feud with the Irakehu at Taumutu, and Te Rauparaha's journeys from the North Island to slaughter Peninsula Maori (see Section 7.6) are especially remembered; bad feelings toward the Ngati Toa tribe persist due to the loss of Irakehu at Onawe *pa* over 150 years ago by Te Rauparaha. Because of this Maori sense of time concerning past grievances, it is not surprising that injustices in land dealings with pakeha government officials and settlers during the 1840-50s are still considered very important.

It took some effort on my part to establish which *marae* are part of the Irakehu *hapu*, and which Maori are considered to be *kaumatua* and *Upoko Runanga*. The Robinsons are a principle extended family in the Peninsula from Little River (called Wairewa by Maori) eastward. The male Robinsons are all direct descendents of Irakehu *rangatira* (chiefs). Henry Robinson takes prominence on the *paepae* (speaker's position in front of the *marae*) during a Maori gathering on the outer Peninsula (beyond the Hilltop); he lives at Onuku, five kilometers south of Akaroa. A *marae* is currently under construction in Onuku. Francie Robinson and his wife Nancy, are the *kaumatua* of Wairewa (Mako *marae*); his brother, Monty Daniels, is the *Upoko Runanga* of Wairewa, although he lives in Christchurch. Bill Grennell is the *Upoko Runanga* of Port Levy (Tutehuarewa *marae*); his son is providing administrative leadership from Christchurch, as is Charles Crofts. At 83 years of age, Arthur Couch of Rapaki is one of the eldest *kaumatua* of the Ngai Tahu; Ollie Tauwhare is the *Upoko Runanga* there. Kath Brown administers the Taumutu *marae* committee, and lives nearby in Springston. Each of the above Maori were interviewed in depth except for Bill Grennell, Ollie Tauwhare and Kath Brown for reasons stated earlier. The low longevity of Maori (see Section 6.1), however, has meant that it was impossible to interview elders of Arthur's age on the outer Peninsula.

The Maori feeling for the land was the first characteristic of a Maori sense of place that became apparent. Among Maori it is strongest for their *hapu* land in the Peninsula. The land

has a special character, although the sea has great importance as well. The two quotations below are by Maori who have adopted the Peninsula as their home:

- #1 I really think that that's [the land] part of their [Maori] being. It's part of their spirit. They associate, everything comes from the land. I think their warmth, their energy, everything comes from the land. That I understand perfectly well. I think . . . I don't think the Maori people think of the land as a material thing, as a capital thing . . . it's part of their soul . . . (Marlene Woods).

(Marlene is Ngati Kahungunu, and moved to Akaroa 20 years prior to the interview; she was the Akaroa Town Council Chairperson at that time.)

- #2 It's like the pakeha with their business, you know, tied to their business. Same thing as the Maori tied to their land. (Polly Rhodes).

(Polly is Maniapoto, and moved to Onuku 20 years prior to the interview.)

A quotation is also included from an Irakehu resident:

The hills, they seem to begin to relate to me somehow . . . just recently now, when I travel around the Peninsula, I feel as if . . . there are people sort of looking down on on me. I have that feeling [of ancestors]. (Francie Robinson).

(Francie is in his early 60s, and has lived most of his life in Wairewa. He is a *kaumatua*, and is deeply involved in revitalizing the marae at Wairewa and Onuku.)

A sensitive pakeha immigrant has described how the Peninsula's landscape feels "spiritual", in a Maori sense, due to their long inhabitation there:

So what is significant about the place? It is its topography, and connections with the world of the Maori are still all around, and you can feel them [the Maori]. You can see them if you have the eyes to look. You can see the fact that it was a very significant centre of Maori population before pakeha arrived. And, although the Maori population now is very small and very scattered and very lost in a cultural sense, I still think the land gives off the feeling of Maori inhabitation. And, the more I learn about the history of the place, the more that seems to be true. (Steve Lowndes).

Interviews with *kaumatua* were conducted more like conversations, as they did not appreciate a question-answer format. I also talked with them during *hui*, and made many return trips to the homes of Henry and Francie Robinson. During the process of this research it became more and more apparent that Maori elders are very much part of their place, in a deep, cultural sense, but with some pakeha attributes as well (i.e. appreciating aspects of the Peninsula's scenery and being against rapid place change).

*Kaumatua* see their "place" in a social sense, as tribal elders; in an emotional sense, as part of themselves; and in a spatial sense, covering all Ngai Tahu territory, not just the Peninsula. This last point is perhaps a result of recent media attention on Ngai Tahu land claims, but may be a carry-over from the past, in that Irakehu used to survey Ngai Tahu territory from the summit of Peninsula hills. On clear days a panoramic view can be had

stretching from the Kaikoura Mountains in the north, to *Aoraki* (Mount Cook) 220 kilometers to the east, and thence to the Hunter Hills near Timaru in the south. The breadth of territory over which Ngai Tahu preside is often mentioned at the start of *whai-korero* (speeches) by Ngai Tahu *kaumatua*. This serves the dual purpose of noting features prominent to Ngai Tahu heritage within their tribal domain, and locates the speaker in space in an experiential sense, building his tribe's *mana* (see Couch, 1987, 1, for an example).

Besides these elders, other resident Maori on the Peninsula were interviewed in the same way as pakeha, with an additional question on their Maori sense of place included. As the interviewing progressed, it became obvious that most adult Maori respondents between the ages of about 25 and 50 are more concerned with working in a pakeha world than with their Maori culture. They were raised at a time when cultural assimilation was a strong force in New Zealand; as a result, they are not fluent in Maori language. However, they keep in touch with their culture through their *whanau* (extended family), which is their centre, and through periodic Maori gatherings. Many expressed a desire to get more in touch with their culture in the future. Irakehu and others who have adopted the Peninsula reported "warm" feelings when they returned to their *marae*, and during Maori ceremonies and *hui*.

During fieldwork, younger Maori on the Peninsula, both teenagers and young adults, were found to be actively involved in learning their culture. This interest is due to the recent resurgence of concern for Maori culture throughout New Zealand. And so, the importance of Maori culture to individuals can vary by age; by when a person is raised, in relation to New Zealand history; and by whether a person is in the midst of a Maori ceremony. Consequently, for those Maori who appeared less in touch with their culture during interviews, this status may only be temporary.

Although many Irakehu have moved out of the Peninsula in the past three decades, primarily to seek work, the social network of Maori within the outer Peninsula is still strong, and is maintained to some extent by out-migrants. Fourteen of the 80 out-migrants in total that I interviewed are Maori, 12 of whom are Irakehu. Ten of these Maori out-migrants live in the Christchurch region, and make regular trips back to the Peninsula. These out-migrants have a well-developed social network on the Peninsula. As such, the tribal core is their centre, instead



of the typical core-periphery model among pakeha, which is centered on the land and/or home that a pakeha family owns.

Maori out-migrants who are connected to their culture and tribe do not leave their place behind when they move away. When pakeha respondents moved out, they still retained nostalgic feelings for their place, but their bonds seemed diminished because they had left. This feeling was even more pronounced if their family had sold their land and their parents had passed away, as illustrated in the next two quotations:

- #1 When you lose your parents, there is something there that is gone. [Would you move back?] Don't think so . . . what would I do there? (Audrey Patten, nee Thacker)

(Audrey is in her late 50s, and was raised in Okains Bay. She left there when she was a teenager, and now lives on a farm in North Canterbury.)

- #2 It was very, very difficult when mother and dad moved away. We all had a last summer there, the whole family. We all went back last summer, and then they moved in the February, and, as I said, it was sort of like a death. It was dreadful. And I didn't think I'd ever go back. Then, after we were married . . . we went and we actually stayed for a week in my old home, up on the hill [in Okains Bay], which was empty. But it was [like we were] complete strangers there. I don't know that I'd ever want to go back [again]. I think it would be too hard. (Susan Hitchcock).

(Susan is in her late 40s and lives in Auckland. She was raised in Okains Bay, and left there as a teenager.)

A much greater percentage of Maori out-migrants reported that they wanted to return to the Peninsula to retire, or to die (see Section 9.2). One Maori out-migrant explains this attitude in the following quotation:

I think that when he's living the Maori has a very strong feeling for his *turangawaewae*. I think too he's always concerned when he dies he wants to go back to that place. (Naomi Bunker).

(Naomi is an Irakehu, in her early 60s, and she now lives in Christchurch; she was raised on the Peninsula, leaving there over two decades prior to being interviewed. She still visits the Peninsula regularly.)

It is interesting that, whereas pakeha often retire off the land, Maori out-migrants invariably want to return to it. This shows the relative economic positions of the two cultures in rural situations in the South Island: most Ngai Tahu have little or no land base, and are forced to leave their *turangawaewae* when they reach adulthood for purposes of employment. Pakeha farmers, on the other hand, simply hand their land down generation to generation: therefore at least one son (or daughter, sometimes) is able to stay to carry on the farm.

Feelings for *whanau* and the significance of *tangata whenua* status to Maori also draws them "home" again to their marae, to visit and to live. Results from Pearson's correlation tests

among Peninsula respondents demonstrated that residential status and social belonging correlated more strongly in a positive direction with intensity of sense of place for Maori than for pakeha samples (see Table 9-6). Many Maori respondents emphasized the importance of their *whanau*. An example is included below:

We're very family inclined. We tend to stick together. (Riki Tainui).

(Riki is an Irakehu in his early 30s, who was raised in Akaroa and now lives in Barrys Bay).

Two photographs of Francie and Nancy Robinson's extended family are included as an example of such whanau ties (see Photos 10-3 and 10-4); they raised 16 children, 12 of their own and four of close relations.

The most common way for Maori respondents to perceive their sense of place is through *tikanga-Maori*. Of the 29 Peninsula Maori respondents, 17 (or 59 per cent) confirmed that this was their primary means of realization, with illness or family crisis (four respondents), living away (three), and getting older (one) also mentioned. Comments from a Maori woman on the significance of a *tangi* shows how Maori realize the depth of their sense of place through this ritual:

It's more so whenever there's a *tangi*. The spiritual feeling is there from the point of death to the time that the *tangi* occurs, right through for a week or so after. (Mahia Tainui).

. . . we have funerals, especially our Maori funerals, which are quite a big affair, and our *tangi* becomes part of the community because, whenever we have anyone that dies, everybody seems to pitch in, and everybody feels it. And its our warmth. Everybody sticks together. (Mahia).

(Mahia and Pere live in Akaroa; Pere is Irakehu, and she is Milly Robinson's sister, who was also quoted above; Mahia came from the North Island 12 years prior to being interviewed).

The practice of *waiata* (songs), *haka* (war dances), *whai-korero*, and carving has increased in the Peninsula since I began my research there, with the Te Maori exhibition of Maori *taonga* (treasures of a tribe, often carvings) in Christchurch during May, 1987, and the Ngai Tahu land claims submission to the Waitangi Tribunal rejuvenating local interest. There are also annual commemorations of Waitangi Day (February 6th) at Okains Bay Maori and Colonial Museum (see Photo 10-5).



Photo 10-3: Francie and Nancy Robinson with a grandchild and a great-grandchild in their home.



Photo 10-4: Some of Francie and Nancy Robinson's extended family, gathered together for the wedding to join their son, Chris, with his bride, Robin, at Onuku *marae*.





Photo 10-5: Waitangi Day ceremony at Okains Bay, February 6th, 1988. The Governor General, Sir Paul Reeves, being challenged by a Maori warrior.

Comments by three resident Maori testify to the renewal of Maori culture on the Peninsula. The first quotation shows the need to do this, while the second places this renewal in a personal context. The third quotation tells of how this movement is especially significant for young Maori.

- #1 In the last 16 or so years, because our families have moved away [from the Peninsula] and have taken longer to return, I think we [Irakehu] have definitely lost the affinity to the place . . . how much ground we've got to make up. And that we've got to make it up as quickly and as positively as possible. [Te Maori and the Ngai Tahu land claims have] stimulated us a lot . . . that's helped this momentum to get rolling again. [We've been doing] more things than there used to be in the last 15 or 16 years. (Monty Daniels).

(Monty is Irakehu and *Upoko Runanga* for Wairewa, in his late 50s, and lives in Christchurch; he is also the Peninsula representative on the Ngai Tahu Trust Board. He was raised on the Peninsula, and left there as a teenager. He returns to the Peninsula regularly.)

- #2 I have a stronger feeling now for places of importance to the Maori culture side. It's sort of like regaining a bit of *Maoritanga* [Maoriness or ways]. I think it's because, well, I have more time here to absorb everything around me that I knew was there for a long, long time, and now I put a lot of time into absorbing what I can find and see and then get the knowledge of. Gaining the knowledge is one of the most exciting parts now . . . of the areas around Banks Peninsula. (Francie Robinson).

To learn the ways of the old people, the *kaumatua*, learn their ways, of how they used to do things. How they had different ways of doing it . . . I think that it feels as if I had known it, but somebody had to tell me to refresh my memory . . . I think you could find that Henry [Robinson] is the same too. He's got that thing we can't describe, and yet we know it. It's something that's been gifted to us, I suppose. (Francie).

(Francie is Irakehu, a *kaumatua* for Wairewa, and in his early 60s; he was quoted earlier in this section as well.)

- #3 The old people [*kaumatua*] couldn't talk like the young ones [Maori] today. And the young ones are starting to speak out, you know, to speak out. Because they're so highly educated and able to fight for their rights. (Tatiana Pimm).

(Tatiana is Ngati Kahungunu, Nga Rauru, Ngati Ruanui and Te Ati Haunui; she is a nurse, and moved to Akaroa 27 years prior to the interview.)



Photo 10-6: Onuku *marae*, late January 1990. The *whare kai* is now complete; the foundations for the *whare whakairo* are on the right.

A new *marae* was being built when my fieldwork commenced in Akaroa in early 1988. At Onuku, also known as the *kaik*, meaning "home", the *whare kai* (dining hall) was under construction, and is now completed (Photo 10-6). Construction of the *whare whakairo* (carved meeting house) is the next stage, and began in late 1989. This *marae* complex is being built at a site where only two Irakehu families still live (with four others in nearby Akaroa).



Flats for retired Irakehu elders are planned there for the future, and it is anticipated that more Irakehu may return once the *marae* complex is completed. Plans for the complex include small economic enterprises, to enable adults of working age to return to or remain on the Peninsula.

Another project, initiated by some Maori from outside the Irakehu *hapu* with heavy involvement by a few local pakeha, has caused some unrest within the Peninsula. In Okains Bay a canoe is being carved from a native totara as a 1990 commemoration project. Resident Irakehu became nominally involved in the project after it began, but have since withdrawn their full support. Some Peninsula pakeha have also objected to this project, principally because of a dispute over Okains Bay Domain Board land that is being claimed by Ngai Tahu. This dispute, involving the Domain Board and the Okains Bay Maori and Colonial Museum, became national news in mid-1989, but has since been resolved: the canoe is now almost completed. A "pakeha backlash" in Okains Bay was over-stated in the press, since the majority of pakeha residents there hold no ill will toward local Maori. However, due to the notoriety of this issue, some Irakehu *kaumatua* pointedly told me that they would rather handle their own cultural revival.

The practice of Maori culture on Banks Peninsula may not be as widespread or intense as in some heartland areas of the North Island, but it is expanding. This cultural revival has surfaced recently as *hapu* leaders who had more of a tribal perspective, such as Riki Allison Taiaroa and Joe Karetai, died. These deaths required Irakehu to learn their *tikanga-Maori*, and allowed them to focus upon their *hapu* once again (Gray, 1990).

The Irahehu are only now beginning to regain the full extent of their *hapu* strength, having endured the ravages of Te Rauparaha in the early 1830s, and the domination of the pakeha since that time. Just as pakeha raised on the Peninsula, with six or seven generations of ancestry on the same land, are born into a situation which nurtures the development of a strong sense of place, Maori are born into a culture which gradually makes them aware of the importance of their cultural heritage.

The cultural renaissance is deepening the sense of place of Irakehu, especially among the young. The full significance of the cultural context to the development of Maori respondents' senses of place is thus starting to be realized. An understanding of the Peninsula situation has been presented in this section; a pan-tribal overview will be made in Chapter 11.

#### 10.4 The Family and Home Environment Context

The home environment, which includes the house and its surrounding land, is where Peninsula respondents spend the majority of their lives. As such, its character has a profound effect on their sense of place. Similarly, respondents' families also influence their sense of place greatly. Surprisingly, Peninsula respondents seldom mentioned either the home environment or the family as a major influence on their sense of place during individual interviews. Out-migrants sometimes noted the importance of these influences, as they were often distant from their extended family on the Peninsula.

As a general observation, Maori would often refer to their *whanau* during individual interviews. Pakeha, on the other hand, either did not want to admit their deep feelings in front of family; considered them too obvious to mention; or simply seldom thought of this dimension of their lives when questioned about their "sense of place". Group interviews with pakeha in Okains Bay and Akaroa were thus used to explore this topic in more depth. This section addresses the physical site of the home; the importance of family - extended and nuclear - on the Peninsula; and male/female roles within the home environment. These will each be discussed in turn to see how they have affected the development of respondents' senses of place.

The home environment in which many Peninsula respondents were raised typically has a "lived-in" look. There is often a lot of clutter, both inside and outside the home, although the inside of homes are invariably clean and tidy. As such, respondents' homes feel "warm" and welcoming; there is not the sterile, orderly appearance common to the inside of the suburban homes of middle-class New Zealanders. Only about 10 per cent of respondents lived in such orderly surroundings, usually in more recently built homes in Akaroa.

During interviews Peninsula respondents appeared very "settled" in their home environments: they were both relaxed and comfortable in their familiar quarters. Part of the reason for this is that many of the farmers live in ancestral homes, which have housed several previous generations of family members. Each generation has left its own character in the furnishings and design, interior and exterior, of the home and its surrounds.

Many homes are isolated on the Peninsula, not including those in Akaroa or the larger bay communities. Both in remote parts of the Peninsula and in well-travelled parts, rural

homes are often situated in relatively open stretches of land, or alone in a valley (see Photo 10-1). And so, the landscape is an important element of sense of place for respondents who live in such locales. These types of settings may not directly influence the intensity of their sense of place significantly (see Section 10.1), but the character of their sense of place is certainly affected.

Privacy in such settings fosters both a strong feeling of family unity, and a feeling of self-reliance. Peninsula farmers are known for their independent character; this is partially derived from their relationship with the physical environment, and from the fact that they are beholden to no one, as most farms on the Peninsula are in freehold title. Pakeha still carry on the pioneer spirit to some extent, being proud that they "brave the elements" in all seasons and that they "work the land". This tends to build in them a strong character, centered on their private domain, the home.

The stability and character of most farm families is of importance in an assessment of the family's influence on sense of place. Ten per cent of Peninsula respondents live alone; of this group of 27 respondents, only six do not have extended family on the Peninsula. Although there may be marital problems, traditional farm families seldom experience divorce. Of the three separations among the Peninsula respondents, all involved couples who had moved to the Peninsula. This is contrasted with the stability of marriages among those brought up on the Peninsula:

You take the rate of divorce and marital trouble of those who are brought up here [Banks Peninsula] - it's non-existent. There's one or two, but it's virtually non-existent . . . there might be one in 20, you know, and I'd think the rate would be one in three in town [Christchurch], if not more. (Peter Thelning).

(Peter and Cynthia were raised on the Peninsula; they were also quoted in 10.1.)

In the past, wives tended to stay on the farm to help with farmwork and children, which aided this stability. However, due to the economic recession, more farm wives are now in paid work, at least part time or seasonally. According to local pastors, both past and present, some husbands and wives have separated in the last few years due to the accumulated stresses of drought, recession and rising costs.

Unlike city dwellers, there is no separation between home and workplace for most Peninsula respondents (84 per cent): they live and work on their own farm; they are retired or unemployed and need not travel to work; or they have a business in their own home. As such,



parents with children can spend more time with them in the home environment. Family ties are thus renewed daily. This point was emphasized by several respondents. Two typical responses are included below:

- #1 Your family was probably more important than what it was in city areas. It's a lot easier to become a close family living like this than in a city, perhaps. Their [urban] lifestyle is that much faster, they're always doing something, whereas you have everything here . . . so, often, probably, a social thing is to go and visit somebody. (Cynthia Thelning, also quoted in 10.1.)
- #2 I think country people have a much stronger family feeling. I mean, if I was brought up with a strong family feeling . . . it was that the family was the root of everything, and today I think that's what's wrong with society. The family background has disappeared. (Dick Barnett).

But not for everybody. (Leslie).

But for such a huge proportion. (Dick).

(Dick and Leslie Barnett are in their late 50s/early 60s, and had farmed in Port Levy for 33 years prior to the interview; they had previously lived in cities in New Zealand, and are soon moving to Diamond Harbour, near Port Levy, to retire.)

The extended family is seen as the most important social group to many respondents, especially to those who live in outer bay locations:

. . . here [in Le Bons Bay] you've always got somebody you are close to, to talk to, to help, to back you up. And I think an awful lot of people now lead awfully lonely live out there in suburbia. There's always somebody here. I've now got a sister in Akaroa, I've got a niece just down the road, I've got all my family here. They've always got somebody; even if we're away, there's always someone they can go to. They've always got someone who is family and close to 'em. And perhaps you could talk to them about what you couldn't talk to other people about. And get it off your chest and then, you know? (Lorna McKay).

(Lorna and Clyde are in their early 60s, and retired from farming in Le Bons Bay, where they were both raised.)

Such qualities of Peninsula family life have left a deep impression on respondents. This was evidenced both through Peninsula and out-migrant respondents' comments on feelings of homesickness. Out of the 133 Peninsula respondents who mentioned that they had felt homesick while away, home and family were missed the most often (by 53 per cent of these respondents), with other features missed less (see Section 9.2). Among out-migrants, feelings for the Peninsula were often strong, even after living away for decades since childhood (see Section 9.2).

Male and female senses of place are somewhat different in character for Peninsula respondents, with adult women often more orientated to the home and adult men to the physical

environment outdoors, especially to their own farm if they have one. This point was stressed in the group interviews:

I think the female's sense of place revolves more around the home and the actual surroundings close to the house. She's probably got a stronger sense of place there and has her way more in what's done there. (Harry Hartley)

You've probably got a stronger sense of place for the house and garden? (Harry)

Yes. (Jan Harris).

(Harry and Jan both live in Okains Bay, and are dairy farmers. Harry was raised there, is in his early 60s, and is married to June; Jan is in here early 40s, moved to the Bay 23 years prior to the interview, and is married to Bevan.)

This sense of place is based on an intimate knowledge of the home and its immediate surroundings.

Males and females had more well-defined roles to play on the Peninsula in the past (e.g. the man as a provider and playing sports, and the woman as a home-maker and supportive of her husband). These traditional roles have eroded in recent years, though, as stated by respondents in group interviews. This is partly due to attitudinal changes throughout New Zealand (i.e. toward female equality), and because more women are now working to support their family as well as the menfolk. However, there is still unity in farming families between husband and wife, with each partner often having a similar sense of place if they have both been raised on the Peninsula:

There's not as much difference in sense of place between the men and the women [here] because you're both involved with farming, [but] as a person in town, they both go to entirely different places. (June Hartley; her husband, Harry, was quoted above).

Besides working together, another reason for similar senses of place is given by June's husband:

Actually, I think that women [who] live in isolated areas - that's really what it is here - I reckon you find that . . . as June said last week [in the group interview], "you talk to your husband more", and they're the one's you talk to most [your spouse], I would say. (Harry Hartley).

When the home environment is considered as an entity, with the family unit dwelling within it, male and female senses of place tend to combine into a family feeling for the place, especially if a couple have been married and living there for many years. Considering individual senses of place is somewhat inappropriate in such cases, although each person would still have his or her own opinion on different matters.

To see whether male and female respondents had significantly different means of intensity of sense of place for the Peninsula, a oneway ANOVA analysis was conducted. The result in Table 10-3 shows that males have a higher mean than females ( $F$  probability  $< .04$ ). This finding is affected by males more often having insider status and ancestral belonging. Of the 145 males in the Peninsula sample, 100 were raised on the Peninsula (69 per cent of males), while among the 125 females, only 45 were raised there (36 per cent of females).

Table 10-3 Oneway analysis of variance: Peninsula respondents by gender.

Variable	Category	n	<u>Intensity of Sense of Place</u>	
			Mean	Standard Deviation
Gender	male	145	.33	2.93
	female	125	-.38	2.84

Note. 1.  $F$  probability  $< .04$ ;  $N = 270$ .

Most women respondents who had moved in had done this to marry those men who had already established their residential status (43 of the 80 women who had moved in: 54 per cent). However, only six of the 45 men who had moved on to the Peninsula had done so for marriage (13 per cent). This reason for in-migration appears to be more common in the past: through an assessment of respondents' data, few married couples made a move to the Peninsula for permanent residency in the three or four decades prior to the 1960s.

This could be because of the traditional nature of Peninsula life in those years, when farms seldom changed hands. Living conditions were also more difficult outside of Akaroa then, with newcomers needing support from knowledgeable, strong "insiders". New wives in isolated Peninsula settings found it hard to adapt to such conditions, as described by one respondent:

In retrospect, yes, I was a "city girl", and I married and went to the country, and I had to come to terms with complete isolation, without electricity or roads or things, and [I] really knew nothing about the country. I couldn't cook . . . I was hopeless. But, I increasingly managed. And I learned more and more, and I had a great sense of belonging to that place which was Stoney Bay. And that gave me the love for space,

and for the farm too, and I realized how privileged I was . . . So, you've got to learn a lot, perhaps, before you become simply at home in a place. (Lois Holderness).

(Lois and Jim are in their early 70s, and retired in Akaroa; they have both lived in the Peninsula for almost 50 years: he first farmed near Gebbies Pass, then married Lois later in life.)

The deep sense of place of the husband in such situations probably helped to compensate for the initial distress, although it may have also made the wife feel somewhat inadequate. However, the family unit would usually tend to unite its members' senses of place over the years, with the positive feelings from the male helping to balance the negative or tentative ones from the female. And so, the resident partner's sense of place may have helped to balance that of the newcomer, providing greater feelings of stability, inclusion in the community, and appreciation of the place.

Parents' feelings of sense of place also influence the sense of place of their children to a large degree. Many younger generation Peninsula respondents voiced similar attitudes as did the older generation toward the Peninsula. There were 31 instances where respondents of two generations were interviewed (and 2 of three generations: e.g. grandfather, father and son); on only six occasions were both generations (and once for three generations) interviewed at the same time. And so, when strong similarities were found between generations, it was not just due to family members presenting a united front.

Both in the qualities expressed as important in their place (e.g. what was liked in the physical environment; the community spirit; family ties; and social activities), and in the intensity of sense of place, there were many similarities. Examples of some of these similarities, extracted from earlier quotations, are given below, with notation to show where this material was previously used in the dissertation. The first pair of quotations are from Cynthia Thelning and her father, Harry Hartley, on the importance of family:

. . . from the South Island, people are perhaps a bit more community-minded. I mean, I know that they have close family ties down here, but that appeals to me. (Cynthia, quoted in 8.1.2).

You get more of a sense of place when you get married and have children in your own place. (Harry, quoted in 9.1.5).

The next pair shows the importance of a family farm to mother (Anne Davison) and son (Frank), with Frank quoted first:

I think a lot of the rural stress that is talked about today [arises because] the farm as the family have known it may not be theirs for much longer . . . It's not so much the

financial side of it. It's their roots. It's probably been in the family for a generation or two. (Frank, quoted in 8.2.2).

I do love Pigeon Bay, and I always get very nostalgic when I go back. Having read all the family books and history, I realize what they [my ancestors] went through to make the farm [at Pigeon Bay], and how hard they worked, and what dreadfully isolated lives [they led]. [Due to my ancestry] I feel we're part of it . . . I love it. (Anne, quoted in 9.2).

The deep attachment for the Peninsula is shown through comments by father (Frank Helps) and son (Francis):

I feel as though I am part of the Peninsula. I pride myself in the fact that I'm more interested in the area than most. I've got more feelings for the area . . . The Peninsula has contributed so much towards my life. It's everything. (Frank, quoted in 8.2.2).

I can understand why the Maori, the *tangata whenua*, why they've got such ties to the land . . . It's maybe the same, similar feeling. (Francis, quoted in 8.2.2).

Identifying strongly with the Peninsula is also shown in the next two quotations, this time by son (Peter McKay), followed by his mother, Lorna:

I notice it with a lot of Peninsula people in my position; the hell people go through to stay here, really. And there is a strong tie, a spiritual tie. You know, it's almost a feeling of . . . you know, we often say "Do we own the land or does the land own us?" (Peter, quoted in 8.2.4).

This is us. It's all that's left. Our ashes will be scattered here and that will be it. We've always been very secure here. This is us and this is the way we are. (Lorna, quoted in 8.2.4).

The final pair of quotations illustrate Maori feelings for the Peninsula between father (Francie Robinson) and son (Chris):

I have a stronger feeling now for places of importance to the Maori culture side. It's sort of like regaining a bit of *Maoritanga* [Maoriness or ways]. I think it's because I have more time here to absorb everything around me . . . The hills, they seem to begin to relate to me somehow . . . I have that feeling of [ancestors around me]. (Francie, quoted in 10.1 and 10.3).

It is my home there. It always will be. Yeah. I've been away from home for a long time, and I've always turned up going back there. Yeah, I like to go back and visit all the people. (Chris, quoted in 9.2).

The family and home environment thus influence respondents' senses of place in several different ways, often without conscious recognition by respondents that this is occurring. These influences themselves are placed into a larger context in the next sub-section.

### 10.5 The Community Context

Communities on the Peninsula can be either compact, as with Akaroa, or dispersed, as is the case with several outer bay communities and Little River. There are also many homes

that are located distant from a community: normally these respondents feel they are part of the closest community, unless topography prevents ready access. For example, people living in the southern bays are more tied to Little River than to Wainui, while those from Le Bons around to Flea Bay feel that Akaroa is their main centre (see Fig. 7-4).

In this section, the importance of one's occupation and social position will first be reviewed, followed by an assessment of community influence on sense of place through a comparison of outer bay and Akaroa communities. During that comparison the significance of place change on the Peninsula to the lessening of sense of place will become apparent.

The influence of community life on sense of place was investigated through individual responses and group interviews with Akaroa and Okains Bay respondents. Individual interviews in the Akaroa area (from Onuku to Takamatua) totalled 84 respondents, while 56 adults and 26 children were interviewed in Okains Bay, almost the entire Bay population. The Akaroa community represents that of a rural town, whereas Okains Bay is a dispersed settlement, with over one-third of its residents living away from the main service area. Photo 10-7 shows the dispersed housing pattern of Okains Bay (see Photos 7-3 and 7-4, for Akaroa).



Photo 10-7: The dispersed nature of settlement in Okains Bay.

Certain key families with ancestry which often dates from the 1840s and 1850s on the Peninsula tend to dominate small Bay communities, with their surnames associated with those places (e.g. the Hays in Pigeon Bay; the Thackers in Okains Bay; and the Le Lievres in Akaroa). For some of these families, few members are left on the Peninsula who retain their family surname (e.g. the Masons and the Waghorns). The social network of respondents in the Peninsula is often based both on kinship and social status, much of which is derived from their ancestry and the size of their landholdings (see Section 9.1.4). This network can also revolve around a respondent's type of work, recreational pursuits, and the community clubs and/or committees he or she belongs to. For Maori respondents, *hapu* and tribal status are also important.

Within rural communities of the Peninsula it is usually the farmers with higher socio-economic status, especially the ones of long community residence, who hold key positions in the community. To see whether the intensity of sense of place varied between occupational groups of Peninsula respondents, a oneway ANOVA analysis was conducted. Farmers and retired respondents were found to have a significantly higher mean for intensity of sense of place than other occupational groups ( $F$  probability  $< .001$ : Table 10-4). A Pearson's correlation test was used to see if socio-economic status and intensity of sense of place were related; the result showed a positive correlation ( $r$  .26;  $p < .001$ : Table 9-5).

Table 10-4 Oneway analysis of variance: Peninsula respondents by occupational group.

Variable	Category	n	Intensity of Sense of Place	
			Mean	Standard Deviation
Occupation	farmer	69	.39	2.73
	business	21	- 2.04	3.14
	retired	83	1.35	2.26
	housewife	47	- .90	2.50
	other/student/ unemployed	50	- 1.08	3.26

Note. 1.  $F$  probability  $< .001$ . ( $N = 270$ ).

2. Significant differences between categories (using Duncan multiple ranges test at  $p < .05$ ): "farmers" and "retired" from all other categories.

These two statistical results fit in well with what was discovered during group interviews with respondents. The importance of one's social "place", through social standing in a Peninsula community, was said to be integral to the development of respondents' senses of place. Indeed, one respondent in an individual interview told me that his social standing is his sense of place (Robin Reynish, of Pigeon Bay, also quoted in Section 10.1). However, social interaction in small, topographically-enclosed communities can be too confining at times; escape is also needed to the city, as attested to by the Reynishs (see Section 10.1).

During group interviews, the most important social group for Okains Bay respondents was said to be the family, whereas in Akaroa feelings among respondents were mixed, with some noting that social clubs were more important. Although the importance of family and home environment to the development of sense of place was often taken for granted among pakeha, community spirit was more often noticed. The home environment may be less noticed because a family is its own context, whereas the community is perceived as "outside" this environment, and its characteristics are more visible.

The quality of community life is more important to the development of sense of place than the size of a community within the Peninsula. This was pointed out in interviews, and was confirmed in a Pearson's correlations test, when no significant relationship was found between size of community and intensity of sense of place. However, the quality of Peninsula communities has also changed dramatically since the pioneer era, and has also altered from the late 1950s onward, when urban drift and changing land use patterns caused a great reduction in the Peninsula's population.

Community spirit had been much stronger in the Peninsula's small communities prior to this more recent change. The Okains Bay community, prior to the cheese factory's closure in the early 1960s, is described below by one respondent:

When the dairy factory was running here [Okains] it was more like a community. Virtually every dairy farmer had to take his own milk to the dairy factory, so they met and chatted. There was people that worked in the dairy factory that chatted and carried on and there was enough there at least to have a reasonable sort of a tennis game every night after work . . . so that was the centrepiece, really. (Bevan Harris).

(Bevan and Jan Harris are dairy farmers in Okains Bay. Bevan is in his early 40s and was raised in Okains Bay; Jan was quoted in the previous section.)



When individual interviews from Okains Bay were assessed, 26 of the 47 non-transient adult respondents (55 per cent of the total) believed that the community spirit had declined there. Among the 11 transients (pakeha and Maori) living in Okains Bay, six thought that there was no community spirit, two felt that it had a strong community, and three had no comment to this question.

During individual and group interviews, residents reported that formerly there were several social clubs in Okains Bay, but with the fall in population since the cheese factory closure, and with farmers required to work harder on their farms lately to make a living, there are now too few people willing or able to make the time commitment required to keep those clubs going. The importance of key members of the community was also pointed out, as they foster community spirit and give a sense of continuity to the community. Peninsula-wide community events, such as A & P shows, also help in this respect.

Many key people, however, have either died or moved away from Okains Bay: only the church, the school, and the Okains Bay Domain Board are well solicited now, and there are few active community members. This reduction in community activity is also occurring in other large outer bay communities, such as Pigeon Bay and Little Akaloa, and in valley communities from Little River toward Christchurch, paralleling the loss of both population and rural services in those places (see Sparrow et al, 1979). There are still community symbols in bay and valley communities, such as a church and a museum in Okains Bay, but there is often not enough active participation to sustain a strong community spirit in each bay. Some residents are pulling together in these times of adversity, however:

I think that the harder times [the recent recession and drought in the Peninsula] have been good because all through the last winter once a month we had a get-together down at the [Community] Hall. It would be a pot-luck dinner, or games evening, or something . . . I think that it takes these sort of harder times to produce something like that. Well, we haven't [carried on with it] this year, yet some that have been very keen on it have had to go to town, so . . . if anyone has a significant birthday or that we always have a get-together and that, so we do try. (Gil Waghorn).

(Gil is in her early 40s, and moved to Little Akaloa 21 years prior to the interview; she and her husband, Robin, who is in his early 50s, run a pastoral farm there.)

In all of the larger outer bay communities, though, local schools are threatened with closure because of declining rolls. Little Akaloa school did close, after 125 years of operation, in late 1989. The potential effect of this closure is pointed out by an elderly respondent who has seen a similar event in his own community:

With the decline in population, to a degree, the community spirit is still there, but it's nothing like what it used to be. No children! No children even going to school [here on French Farm]! Once you lose your school, you lose your community centre. (Billy Weir).

(Billy and Dorothy are in their late 80s, and have lived above French Farm all of their lives. They recently shifted to Akaroa. They are key figures in the Peninsula's wider community; he is also a local historian.)

The Little Akaloa "store" has only a few goods on offer during limited hours of opening, and the store in Pigeon Bay closed in 1988. The effect of this closure to the Pigeon Bay community is described by a resident of the Bay below:

I think with the store closing [the community spirit has changed]. I think that [the store] was a focal point of the Bay. It [the community spirit] sort of dwindled. The store went, and then the post office went this year. It used to be that was a real meeting point . . . at lunch time everybody would converge at the store to get your mail and pick up bits and pieces, and when that went everything changed. (Sue Reynish).

(Sue and Robin, both in their 30s, are pastoral farming on the east side of Pigeon Bay. They were also quoted in Section 10.1.)

Despite these changes in the outer bay communities, the Le Bons Bay community has fared better in the past few years, with immigrants boosting the number of residents there.

Many older respondents did not appreciate the rapidity at which their Peninsula place and community were being transformed. Two respondents' personal assessments of these changes are provided to demonstrate the extent and effect of such place changes:

- #1 We used to have our own drama club and cricket club and tennis club, net ball. We had everything . . . you name it. We had all sorts of things and that's all gone. There is still a feeling of community when we get together. Yes, very much so. [But] it happens very rarely. Only when someone leaves and we have a party in the house to say good bye sort of thing. We don't tend to get together very much now. (Joyce Evans).

(Joyce is in her 60s, living in Wainui and retired from farming the hills south of Wainui with her late husband.)

- #2 It was only a close-knit community, you know, years ago, and it was, sort of . . . and if you wanted any help, in sickness, everyone was there . . . (Josie Hammond).

Well, it's more money-oriented [now]. Everybody used to come and help. You'd holler out and somebody'd come and help you. If you were shearing [sheep], somebody would give you a couple of days, and that sort of thing. And you'd give a day back or something like that. Nowadays it's money, money, money. Everybody wants to be paid for these things, you know. Which puts a different aspect on your [community]. (Phil).

(Phil and Josie are in their late 60s, living in Birdlings Flat, and retired from farming nearby. She moved to the Peninsula 40 years prior to the interview.)

Another respondent, Harry Hartley (quoted in 10.4), noted that increased mobility and television have both eroded community spirit in his lifetime. Mobility through better roads and

automobiles has given people the independence to drive out of the small bays and into Christchurch; television has provided home entertainment, which tends to isolate each nuclear family from the larger community to a certain degree, especially in the evenings.

The effect of rapid place change on some older respondents is a reduction of stability and feelings of social belonging. Their place identity is at stake, as common behaviours and landscape symbols have either disappeared or have largely been transformed, while many familiar faces have departed. The oldest age group feel this the most. Eight per cent of the Peninsula residents reported that this was a concern. Two examples of elderly respondents feeling like "strangers" in their own place are given below:

- #1 There's not the same sense of community as there used to be. There used to be cards and a dance on Saturday nights and there was a time when the whole district used to go. We don't have that now. We knew everybody in the district. People are coming and going and the ones further out at Motukarara . . . I don't know how to keep up with them. (Eric Streeter).

(Eric is a retired farmer, in his 80s, who has always lived in McQueens Valley.)

- #2 I suppose, once upon a time, we knew everyone in Akaroa; now you don't: there's half the people, I'd meet them on the street and I wouldn't know who they were, because people come here and then they get tired or something and move away . . . (Jessie Mould).

(Jessie is in her early 70s, a local historian who was raised in Akaroa, lived away for 39 years, and returned later in life.)

The major dislike of Peninsula respondents is the decline of community spirit: 36 per cent mentioned this in interviews, although they often did not state this point directly when asked what their dislikes were (see Table 8-2). Respondents living in outer bays were found to have significantly lower means for intensity of sense of place in oneway ANOVA analyses of "Peninsula location" and "topographic setting of home" (see Table 10-1). Those who live in dispersed settlements also have lower averages for intensity of sense of place when "landscape setting of home" was subjected to the same test (see Table 10-1). These results do not just refer to Okains Bay; all outer bays with a large population base, from Port Levy around to Le Bons Bay, have experienced population declines and loss of services, which affect their community spirit negatively. However, there is still a degree of community spirit there, as testified by many respondents. This makes a person feel both secure and identifiable, especially as compared with living in a city:

Even in a small city like Christchurch it's so easy to be anonymous, whereas [in] a small community it doesn't matter who you are, everybody over here is somebody. (Peter Overton).

(Peter and Anne Overton moved to the Peninsula from Christchurch 15 years prior to the interview; Peter still runs a farm above Duvauxchelles, while Anne has recently moved to Christchurch to be able to continue teaching school.)

In Okains Bay, though, long-standing feuds and recent confrontations between some individuals and families make social get-togethers for all community members a rarity. A fractious community is now in place, with in-fighting there well known throughout the Peninsula, and commented upon especially by many resident teachers and pastors, past and present. One Anglican pastor who lived in Okains Bay for five years had these comments to make about the situation when he lived there:

It was a very divided community, but a very strong sense of community [nonetheless]. While we were there they never let any outsider buy any land they'd had for sale. They'd always band together [against outsiders]. (Lester Kyle).

(Lester is in his early 50s, and now resides in Stoke, near Nelson, with his wife, Muriel. They departed Okains 12 years prior to being interviewed).

The community is still divided today, perhaps even more so. Some form of community spirit continues, however, and is evident especially in times of crisis.

On the other hand, respondents have told me that the community spirit in Akaroa has improved with a recent influx of new residents. These residents have varied interests, and often believe in "getting involved". According to older Akaroa members, newcomers tend to get disheartened and "burned out" after a couple of years, but more people seem to be there to take their place. In Akaroa there is a wider range of people to interact with, and some degree of anonymity. It is not surprising then that a good community spirit was reported by the majority of Akaroa respondents. Examples from three sets of respondents are included below, the first from residents who were raised there, and the next two from new residents:

- #1 . . . you're never alone. You've only got to walk down the street, and you stop to have a yarn [talk] with everybody you pass . . . and, if you wanted any help with anything at all, you've only got to sing out to your neighbour or for anybody, and, I mean, once people know that you need something, goodness me, all around you immediately. It's a lovely place to be. (Betty Phillips).

There are marvellous people around [here], really. (Johnny).

(Betty and Johnny Phillips are in their mid-60s, and are retired in Akaroa, where they have lived for most of their lives.)

- #2 It's a very strong [community] . . . I feel it's a very close community [Akaroa]. Certainly there is this thing that everyone knows what everybody else is doing, but, at

the same time, if anything happens to anyone, everybody is there helping and supporting. It has been very noticeable over this last day or two with these two people dying in the same day (both long-term residents of Akaroa), and the support that the community has come up with, and being really helpful. (Fay Hill).

(Fay is in her early 60s; she moved to Akaroa nine years prior to the interview, to continue her painting there as an artist.)

- #3 A thing I do like, and I've often said to people I need three hands, one to deliver the mail, one to wave to people, and one to hang on to the motorbike. There's a tremendous amount of "Hi, how are ya, I can't remember your name, but . . ." There's a lot of waving going on; all the shops, for instance, we're on a first name basis. It's nice to come back to that. (Paul Oliver).

(Paul and Raewyn are in their 40s, and moved to Akaroa seven years prior to the interview; he is a wood-turner. They were planning to move away from Akaroa when they were interviewed, and have since left for Australia.)

There are apparently up to 80 different social clubs and activities on offer in Akaroa, for a permanent population of only 700! There is some resentment among established members that newcomers try to "take over", and some new residents complain of a traditional mind-set that is resistant to change, but overall the community spirit is very strong.

The traditional community structure is disrupted, however, by an intrusion of tourists and holiday makers on to the Peninsula during summer holidays. Many Peninsula respondents reported resentment at this "invasion" (24 per cent of total: see Table 8-2). This is especially the case in Akaroa among older residents who have been raised on the Peninsula, and have spent the majority of their lives there. Examples of feelings of resentment from three such respondents are provided below:

- #1 I don't like it when the town [Akaroa] is crowded with a lot of pushy people, because they are pushy, and when they take over it's a bit uncomfortable. And they're mostly not tourists. They're mostly Kiwis on holiday. So what we see in Akaroa, and it's probably what I'm trying to explain is only one sort of segment of the Kiwis on holiday. We see the rich Kiwis over here. They're only a small proportion of the city people, but we get what you might call the wealth. So, all of a sudden the town [Akaroa] is full of successful people, or so-called, with big boats, big cars. We can't find a park, and they all think they are local because they have a holiday home here . . . I know if you go down to the local hotel that the people down there say they just can't find a "local". They actually go "bush" (hide away) . . . they move out of town for that period to escape . . . (Jeff Hamilton).

(Jeff Hamilton, in his early 40s, has lived on his farm south of Onuku for most of his life. He and Tricia Hatfield, who arrived two years previous to the interview from Canada, run a youth hostel.)

- #2 Living here, we are only subject to the tourists for minutes or hours and then we're out of it again. We retreat back here and breathe the biggest sigh of relief you've ever known after that little rat race down there [in Akaroa]. But for 10 months of the year we say the town is ours. Two months it belongs to them. (Ruth Helps).

(Frank and Ruth, both in their 70s, are retired from pastoral farming on the hills south of Akaroa; they live in a large house overlooking Akaroa from the south. He has lived in the Peninsula for almost his entire life, while she moved in over 40 years previous to the interview.)

- #3 As far as Takamatua goes [near Akaroa], they've just about taken over [the holiday home owners]. They've formed their own ratepayer's association and all this sort of thing . . . (Jim Hammond).

(Jim is in his late 60s, and has always lived on his farm above Takamatua Bay. He still carries on pastoral farming alone after his wife passed on a few years ago.)

Respondents raised on the Peninsula thus demonstrated their territoriality over their place, often telling me that they did not want Akaroa to develop into another "Queenstown", totally oriented to tourism (see Fig. 6-2). However, the majority of respondents, particularly new residents, still believed that Akaroa was "moving ahead" with all of its new development and diversity. A typical example of a positive view from a new resident is included for illustration:

In the last few years, what I've seen is that new residents and tourists have saved Akaroa; that they're the best thing that we've got. That, if it wasn't for them, we couldn't afford the services that we've got or our other local body services. I think that they've brought life and new ideas and money. (Des McSweeney).

(Des and Marie are in their early 60s; they retired to Akaroa two years prior to the interview, and had a holiday home there previously.)

And so, some of the changes occurring on the Peninsula which are beyond the control of local residents, include economic changes common to New Zealand; an outflow of residents seeking employment; and increased tourism. It is also too early to see how the new, larger Banks Peninsula District Council will affect local decision-making (see Section 7.6 and Fig. 7-3). However, the character of Peninsula communities will probably remain much the same for some time to come due to the amount of land tied up in rural blocks for farming, with most of that land still handed down along family lines. The planning guidelines for the Peninsula's District Scheme are also very restrictive for new non-farm development on such lands.

## 10.6 Summary

Although communities such as Akaroa and Okains Bay have been discussed as if they were independent entities, these communities are also situated in a physical environment setting. The Peninsula "place" of respondents, made up of the physical environment and social environment, of community and family, is a whole, difficult to unravel into component parts, and valued highly from whatever perspective is taken, by all but the most disenchanted respondents. Respondents take full advantage of their rural situation by spending much of

their time visiting friends and family elsewhere on the Peninsula; driving on roads or walking on tracks over the landscape; boating on or swimming in the sea; and taking time out to view the beautiful scenery. In this way they are "place people", and not just oriented to the human, social, built world as are many city dwellers.

The rugged physical environment of the Peninsula, though, has limited their movements to some degree, isolating many families in remote locations. Some respondents appreciated aspects of this isolation, liking the privacy and sense of freedom they feel in the open spaces; others felt too closed off from the world, and claustrophobic living on the valley floor. Most of the Peninsula's land has been in pakeha hands for almost a century and a half; land clearing to allow pastoral farming has given the Peninsula a distinctive landscape, but has also alienated some of the local Maori, as they do not believe that the forest, home of *Tane*, should have been cleared.

The social position of pakeha settlers thus played a prominent role in shaping the cultural landscape of the Peninsula. Early British immigrants tried to "recreate" their homeland in New Zealand, and wanted to make the land "useful" (see Tuan, 1977, on immigrants' feelings for homeland in general); they "took possession" of the land not just through ownership, but through place names as well (see Yoon, 1986). They also established a social hierarchy, with landed gentry having more say in Peninsula affairs. This social class system was very established in Canterbury prior to World War I (see Eldred-Grigg, 1989), and has coloured the interaction of Peninsula residents even to these times.

Societal influences on sense of place are more central to pakeha due to the monocultural inclination of New Zealand society. However, Maori also exhibit many of the same behavioural traits, such as hospitality, a relaxed manner and insularity. These traits help make all New Zealanders feel "at home" in their place, thus building a sense of place, while overseas experience can provide perspective on one's place, allowing a person to realize its importance. Recreational activities, particularly sports, that are common to New Zealand are often missed while overseas, as they are part of many Kiwi's sense of place.

Nationalist sentiments can also build sense of place, through sporting competitions at the international level and through wartime experiences. The mateship phenomenon, on the other hand, may erode the value of a sense of place, as such feelings are not shown openly

among "real Kiwi blokes", and a more functional relationship with place may develop instead. Both pakeha and Maori are affected by rural and urban ways of life, and by the changing economic scene in New Zealand, but racial tensions have also become more widespread lately as Maoridom moves toward greater equality for their people in New Zealand society. However, such tensions were less of a problem in Banks Peninsula society.

For Maori respondents, culture influences their sense of place more directly than does New Zealand society. Pakeha, though, are seldom conscious of the influence of their own culture. Local *marae* are of greatest importance to Maori (see Murton, 1987), with group events there - based on the rituals of their own tribe - maintaining their culture, often at a *hapu* level of social organization. These events are also supported by Maori out-migrants. On the Peninsula there has been a gradual revival of Maori culture, due to both local and national initiatives. *Marae* are being built and refurbished, and Maori are once again practicing their rituals, in preparation for 1990 commemorative ceremonies. The Irakehu *hapu* has become united once again, and is now in a building programme. Ngai Tahu responded to Te Rauparaha's slaughter of the 1830s by later driving him and his forces off the South Island; they are now in the process of dealing with pakeha domination.

The home environment provides respondents with a sense of privacy and security, as their homes are often in remote locations and surrounded by large expanses of open country. Because of this, the family, both nuclear and extended, is the most important social group to many Peninsula respondents. Through family experiences, the sense of place of parents also rubs off on children, with the latter often exhibiting very similar characteristics. The happy childhood of most respondents has left an imprint on many out-migrants as well: they still treasure the Peninsula even after living away for decades (see Norberg-Schulz, 1977; see also Hart, 1984, for a general treatment on children's geographies).

Women on the Peninsula are often more oriented to their own homes and immediate surroundings in their senses of place, knowing these in intimate detail, while men are more directed to the land around their home in their sense of place. However, due to spending much time with each other around the home environment, husband and wife often have much the same sense of place, particularly if they have both been raised on the Peninsula. If a wife moved on to the Peninsula, her (growing) sense of place can be strongly influenced by her



husband's, as he is the insider while she has to adapt to difficult conditions. The union of man and woman can therefore produce a sense of place that they both share. Together with the common traits shared by family members, sense of place is therefore not only an individually-based phenomenon, as suggested in previous literature by myself and others (e.g. Eyles, 1985; Hay, 1986, 1988).

The social position of people living in the Peninsula is important in the development of sense of place, with social status based on insider status, itself linked not just to residence but to localized ancestry and the size of a person's landholdings as well. Farmers with large landholdings and Peninsula ancestry are often key members of the community, helping to maintain community spirit. The daily interaction with other residents in Peninsula communities is important to most Peninsula respondents as well, although some resent the intrusion of others into their private lives. The social world is thus important in the formation of people's sense of place (see Ley, 1983b). However, community spirit is in a state of decline in most outer bays.

The size of communities is not as important in the development of sense of place as the intimate scale of Peninsula communities (see Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Sale, 1980). The social belonging of respondents, as linked to this intimacy, has been assaulted over the past few decades by place change, though, through out-migration, loss of services, and an annual summer invasion of holiday makers. Many respondents have seen their place change through shifts in the local economy over the past 40 years, from dairying, cheese factories, and cocksfooting, which were more labour-intensive, to pastoral farming on large blocks of land, often run by single families. They have also witnessed the urban drift of population from the 1960s onward, common to several Western countries (see Tremblay and Anderson, 1966, for Canada). They did not want to oversee the conversion of their place into some sort of tourist Mecca.

Peninsula respondents live in a desirable place, they are the insiders, and they do not want it to change either rapidly or in character. Changes are not taken to kindly by the majority of respondents, as they love their place and feel territorial about it. In the past Maori endured phenomenal place change as the land was made over for agricultural uses. The present landscape and townscape has not been subjected to "topocide", the planned destruction of a

place by bureaucrats (see Porteous, 1989), but place change is having its effects, mostly negative, on the sense of place of respondents. With recent changes to local government, decision-making is now at a regional level, including the population of Lyttelton Harbour. What this means for the Peninsula's future only time will tell.

What is apparent, though, is that Peninsula respondents by and large have a strong sense of place which has been developed through both individual and contextual means. The latter involves five different contexts: physical environment; societal; cultural; family and home environment; and community. Each of these contexts has large effects, although this may not be recognized by respondents themselves. An understanding of these effects allows the case study itself to be placed in a series of larger contexts. This will be done in the final part of this dissertation, Part IV. I will examine these broad contexts in Chapter 11, while in Chapter 12 the research findings from the literature review, case study, and self-reflection will be summarized in a theory for sense of place.

## CHAPTER 11

### THE CASE STUDY IN CONTEXT

The significance of the results found in the Banks Peninsula case study becomes clearer when it is placed into several broader contexts. In this chapter, five very different contexts are used to present clusters of insights on the results:

- 1) methodological - the methodology and methods designed for the case study were found to have certain limitations and advantages when applied in the field;
- 2) significant findings on sense of place - the significance of specific research findings is highlighted when they are compared to those of the academic literature on sense of place and related topics; and,
- 3) national and pan-tribal - the case study had peculiarities due to its geographical confines: results from Banks Peninsula need to be placed in both a national and a Maori pan-tribal context;
- 4) cross-cultural - a cross-cultural overview of the research can tell us whether parallels between other modern or indigenous peoples and those of Banks Peninsula (and New Zealand) are important to the topic or not.
- 5) personal - from my own point of view, my feelings of displacement and my interpersonal skills were also an issue during this research, with some new perspectives and findings resulting from my reflection;

Some new insights have been derived from sources beyond the case study. These are included within two of the contexts, personal and pan-tribal. However, the bulk of material in this chapter relates directly to the three results chapters just presented. The major insights contained in these five contexts are summarized and integrated into a theory for sense of place in Chapter 12.

#### 11.1 Composite Methodology and the Application of Methods

My research design and multiple methodologies are discussed first to show how fieldwork affected the application of different methodologies, as detailed in Chapter 7. Specific points on the success of applying my methods in the field are then made, followed by several

methodological issues which arose during my research, including personal ones directly related to methodology.

#### 11.1.1 Methodological Issues

It should be noted that my understanding of both these issues and the methodologies themselves was evolutionary: a researcher learns by the practice of phenomenological and ethnographic methods (see Frake, 1983; Relph, 1981a), and these are adapted in the field to fit the needs of the particular research context and topic under study. Consequently, the significance of certain methods to one's own case study only becomes apparent through much trial and error. Having multiple methodologies at my disposal ensured that various aspects of the topic were covered, and that less successful research methods could be discarded without jeopardizing the entire research project.

The use of a number of "perspectives" to contrast and heighten awareness of sense of place among both respondents and myself was found to be invaluable as a research strategy to investigate sense of place (see Fig. 7-2). Applying reflexivity to increase my objective consideration of the topic during fieldwork allowed theory to be developed along the way; this approach to theory development proved to be helpful. The use of dialectics, from phenomenological methodology, enabled me to compare academic conceptions of sense of place and my own sense of place with those of respondents. The senses of place of different groups of respondents themselves were contrasted in the data analyses, as in out-migrants compared with residents, and Maori compared with pakeha. Phenomenological reflection by myself during fieldwork in general; by myself and respondents during individual and group interviews; and by myself later during data analyses helped in the identification of strong themes concerning both the character and development of sense of place.

It is difficult in practice, however, to bracket the phenomenon "sense of place" using phenomenology without some personal perspective on it as a researcher. Ethnographic methodology aided me in gaining perspective, by making me more aware of my own sense of place through travelling overseas, far from my "home", and by making me aware of qualities of respondents' lifeworlds that they themselves tended to take for granted. I was a stranger in respondents' taken-for-granted context, and ethnography provided a useful methodology both to solicit descriptions of sense of place, and to capitalize on the "strangeness" of my situation.

Ethnography was also found to be the most appropriate methodology to investigate indigenous peoples' sense of place in a sensitive manner. Being a participant more than an observer aided in the success of my fieldwork, as did going into and out of the research context (for perspective and renewal), and gaining local and cultural knowledge, which aided my interpretation during interviews and afterwards. Ethnographic and phenomenological methodologies therefore complemented each other very well in the field for research on sense of place.

Several comments on the relative success of my research methods will now be made. Social survey methods were helpful in demonstrating trends in responses among respondents, but I found it difficult to keep myself consciously aware of the flaws of positivist ideology during various quantitative analyses. The research instruments used for interviews were adequate to the tasks, with the group interview format tending to elicit insights more readily than individual interviews. The variation of questions in individual interviews helped to keep respondents interested and to form a picture of their life history gradually.

Couples were most hospitable when interviewed, and often more forthcoming with responses. I easily developed a good rapport with them. When single, older males were interviewed, the fact that I was an older male myself helped to draw them out. Older, (pakeha) male respondents had a sense of place for the Peninsula, but societal effects made it difficult to establish the extent of that sense of place as directly as with most other respondents. In such cases wives were often helpful in getting their husbands to make public their emotional feelings for their place.

Group interviews supplemented the individual/family ones very well, by introducing some extra topics of interest to my research, and filling in the data by rounding it out to a more complete form. Group meetings were also helpful as a confirmatory mechanism for my preliminary conclusions on sense of place; and so, their placement in the chronology of fieldwork should be after many of the individual interviews have been conducted.

Similarly, *hui* with Maori respondents were most appropriate to research their sense of place, as these people come alive when in a group, and are often more responsive and aware of their culture at such times. Attending community events and gaining local knowledge of the

Peninsula through oral history and an assessment of background information, were also necessary for me to be able to relate to respondents and to understand their comments.

Video-taping was found to be a difficult task, and could comprise a research project in itself. These tapes have much more visual impact to communicate my research findings to others, especially on the nature of the people and the place. However, the taping exercise was distracting to many respondents; some were also not as forthcoming in their responses during video-taping as in earlier interviews, and thus needed prompting. The use of a small, audio tape-recorder is recommended for gathering data in interviews, as its use is much more unobtrusive. Video-taping can supplement such data to show particular aspects of the research project when visual footage is most suitable.

As a final note on methodological issues, I should point out that qualitative research is both very time-consuming and emotionally demanding of the researcher. Using different analytical perspectives, as with the phenomenological and complex statistical computations, is mentally straining as well. It seemed at times that I was moving from one "world" to another in my mindset when I shifted perspectives. It took some time to make mental transitions in perspective, as a whole way of thinking - one logical and analytical, and the other intuitive and creative - was involved in each "world". Such issues should be considered during the research design phase for similar projects. Further comments on the difficulties in thinking phenomenologically and as an indigenous person are included in Chapter 12.

#### 11.1.2 The Application of Methods in the Field

Comments on issues that arose through my use of different research methods will now be made. In general I found that respondents did not like to be interviewed formally in a question-answer format during individual interviews. They preferred to converse freely, jumping from topic to topic and thinking of themselves as completely unique, not as part of a social survey. If interviews had been unstructured to that extent, however, I would have been unable to cover many of the features that were quite important concerning sense of place, as identified both in a literature search and in a detailed pilot study with respondents. In addition, I would have been unable to identify trends among the respondents' remarks as easily.

Some interviews, in particular those with Maori *kaumatua*, very elderly pakeha and young children, were less structured than others because of the nature of the respondents. In

the interviews with older Maori and pakeha, it was more difficult to avoid asking leading questions, or to influence the opinions of those involved unduly. Because of the strong character of most elderly pakeha respondents, the views that were recorded were still more a reflection of their feelings than my own. Repeated interviews with Maori *kaumatua* in the Peninsula helped to gain their trust; to ensure that I understood their meaning; and to develop a more complete picture of their sense of place.

Respondents also did not like to be categorized. I had to remind myself during data analyses that the respondents are "whole" people, and that portions of their lives should not be abstracted for analyses without regard to their context. Also, responses I had gathered represented people's feelings at a particular window of their lives: they too might change at some point, as might their place; and so, typification was definitely not final. As a counterpoint, though, if respondents are not categorized in any fashion to show patterns and trends which even respondents themselves know are present, then little sense can be made of the mass of data that was collected.

In an individualistic society it is difficult for a study not to be an ego-driven one. However, I attempted to be sensitive and sincere with respondents, and to show their concerns and feelings on the research topic instead of thinking mostly of my own. Modern society gives rewards and status to certain member's efforts, with a Ph.D said to be a culmination of one's education. Being involved with the Peninsula's residents as more of a participant in both of their cultures helped to keep my views in perspective, as I soon learned that there was much more to education, both beyond the university environment and beyond one's years of formal training.

I have made the Peninsula the basis of my own lifeworld to a large extent: I have interviewed over 15 per cent of its residents from all walks of life and in all portions of the Peninsula; I have been part of community events and involved in Maori rituals; and I have kept in touch with many people in the Peninsula since my fieldwork ended. Interviewing respondents about their sense of place connected me with an important part of their lives; through my involvement in their lifeworlds and research on this topic I felt that I "knew" them well. The *aroha* spirit of Maori respondents helped further in my feeling part of the Peninsula, as I have been accepted as a member of their group.

And so, I feel that I am their voice for this topic, and thus obliged to give an authentic report of their sense of place feelings. As such, I feel as much part of a community as a participant in fieldwork: I could not just be anonymous, as researchers can who remain at the university, poring over data sheets gained from mailed questionnaires, disconnected from their field site and respondents. The personal element in my research has therefore been important, both directing the research, and having a great effect on my own life (see Section 11.5).

The personal element in fieldwork began with the arrangement of interviews through networking, which proved to be very successful, with few refusals. It helped that people had heard of me and my research when I telephoned to arrange interviews. However, in the midst of fieldwork, as this personal element became more significant, community closeness on the Peninsula threatened to become a problem. Often my movements were relayed ahead to other respondents via the telephone lines, and I wondered if this communication would affect responses in the next venue. The complexity of my question list, though, prevented an undue amount of coaching by those whom I had already interviewed. Near the close of my research, the personal element was again an issue, but more as a help than a hindrance. At this latter stage, when I needed to confirm certain research findings, I was able to go back and converse freely with a selection of knowledgeable respondents, which aided my analyses greatly.

The intimate knowledge of community members about each other also enabled me to confirm, through intersubjectivity, whether certain respondents were leading me on, as did checkback questions in individual interviews. If they were all giving misleading information, it must have been a pretty complete conspiracy. A qualitatively-based research design, that used a composite methodology, was therefore instrumental in enabling me to gather detailed data on my topic, to confirm whether my data were valid, and to see if conclusions were off target or not. Using both qualitative and quantitative analyses also helped to identify important research findings, and complemented each other in the confirmation of those findings.

### 11.2 Significant Findings in the Context of Academic Literature

The academic literature on sense of place and related topics will now be reviewed in the light of my research findings. Topics introduced in Chapter 2 are interwoven into this discussion, as is the material on the perceptual, experiential and emotional realms of sense of place, identified in Chapter 3. The following clusters of findings will be presented in turn:



aspects of "being-in-the-world" and awareness of one's sense of place; composite variable used to measure the intensity of sense of place; typologies to describe the development of sense of place; influence of contexts on that development; personal mobility and individual choice regarding one's place feelings; cross-cultural perspectives on sense of place. Findings which were not emphasized in the academic literature will be highlighted. My conception of sense of place itself is presented in Chapter 12.

At a cultural level, cosmology has directly influenced Maori sense of place, while societal effects from Western, modern culture were more apparent in pakeha respondents' sense of place. Both groups actively defended their place: they were thus not passively "being-in-the-world" as "existential insiders" (see Relph, 1976). Instead, they were active participants in the ongoing creation and monitoring of their place.

The physical and cultural symbolism of the Peninsula is based overwhelmingly on the landscape in respondents' minds, but for Maori respondents there were also important ancestors and battles to be remembered. The character of communities - Maori and pakeha - is of importance too in an appraisal of symbolism and its effect on sense of place. The Peninsula's landscape is very "legible", as it is easily recognized (Lynch, 1978; Tuan, 1977): placelessness was thus not a feature of the Peninsula, either as a visual or attitudinal characteristic (see Relph, 1976).

Maori respondents became aware of the depth of their sense of place most often through the practice of their culture; pakeha respondents came to this realization usually through moving away from their place for a while, thereby gaining perspective on their taken-for-granted feelings. An aesthetic appreciation of place is therefore only important to a point in the development of respondents' senses of place. Feeling "at home" among like-minded people through long residence in one place is more central in this development than aesthetic qualities.

This point has seldom been mentioned in academic literature. Eyles (1985) noted that being with people one likes is a vital concern, an insight that he became personally aware of through his experiences in Australia, away from his English home:

... Australians demonstrated, with finality, that being at home - in one's place - has little to do with aesthetic appreciation of landscape. Identity, feeling good, place - they are all intermingled - were about being with people like you whom you like. It was having a good time with those people. The gregariousness of Australians as well as

their warm-heartedness and generosity reinforced for me the idea that feeling at home is all about people. I realise that that remark seems amazingly trite, but such jolts are useful correctives for academics who spend their time trying to categorize experience. Experience is a totality. It does not consist of compartmentalized activities, and who better to clarify that for me than the people-loving, pom-tolerating Australians. (26).

I had initially thought that moments of raised consciousness might be important in the development of a sense of place, but the experiential dimension was later seen to be of more consequence. A feeling of being "at home" had already developed among most respondents, through living with friends in a good community and being in a secure home, often on ancestral land in a benign environment.

Respondents became aware of their sense of place during times of stress; when a person was considering leaving (or returning to) the Peninsula; or when their place was threatened. At other times it was only part of recognition and reminiscence, confirming in respondents' minds that they lived in a good place. Because of this assessment, the conceptual division made by Tuan (1980b) between sense of place and rootedness appears somewhat arbitrary: respondents may be self-conscious of their sense of place at times, but respondents were also self-conscious of their rootedness (or lack of it), with this latter status more important in developing their sense of place.

I used a composite variable to measure the intensity of Peninsula respondents' sense of place, basing that composite on four indicators: feelings of insider status; place attachment; motivation to remain there; importance of having localized ancestry. That composite was effective in describing their sense of place, but this approach had not been taken before in behavioural studies of sense of place. My literature review pointed out that insider status and having localized ancestry had not been recognized as variables of importance to sense of place. This neglect may have arisen because most previous research has been of urban residents who seldom know who is an insider (except in the workplace or a school setting); likewise, localized ancestry is not of consequence because of urbanites' mobility

Respondents who had lived on the Peninsula longer, especially for more than half a lifetime, and who live on ancestral land, invariably have a deep sense of place, which tends to grow stronger the longer they live there. Such respondents could be described as "place people", since they "love their settings" (see Steele, 1981, 44-50). The importance of being born and raised in a place, remaining there for most of one's life, and having localized ancestry

were not, however, mentioned as important to the development of sense of place theoretically in previous research. This place-based status is especially significant to Irakehu Maori respondents, both residents and out-migrants, with the latter group making regular trips back to the Peninsula; several Maori out-migrants also expressed a desire to move back there, or to "return home" to die (see Comeaux, 1988-89; Rowles and Comeaux, 1986-87, 1987).

Of those pakeha who had moved to the Peninsula, many reported difficulties in achieving insider status. Peninsula residents "blocked" the development of their sense of place to some extent. Johnston (1988a) noted the importance of stereotypes and exclusionary zoning in determining how insiders kept their place much the same. The personal aspect of this phenomenon is highlighted when the cases of womenfolk in the Peninsula are examined. Many who had moved to the Peninsula decades earlier were still struggling to feel like insiders when I interviewed them; mothers could thus feel less an insider than daughters who have been born there, although both had lived there a comparable length of time. This variability on the importance of length of residence was not reported in previous research.

The social position of pakeha settlers also played a role in shaping the cultural landscape of the Peninsula. The landscape represents the social hierarchy found there, as well as the cultural heritage of the usurpers. This was an issue for Irakehu Maori respondents, who had lost most of their tribal lands and witnessed radical changes to their landscape and way of life. Foreign immigrants are not so concerned with these issues, preferring instead to focus upon their own economic survival and the positive qualities of the Peninsula. Such contrasts between cultures are common in the academic literature, but had not been specifically emphasized in the literature on sense of place.

I also developed both general and more specific classifications to identify the stage of development of a respondent's sense of place (see Fig. 9-1). The general typology included "embryonic", "commitment" and "culmination" stages of development, with a person's stage in the life cycle (see Taylor and Townsend, 1976) also important in this classification. Six categories were used to determine stages for subsets of respondents more closely. These were grouped into superficial sense of place (tourists and pakeha transient to the Peninsula); partial sense of place (long-term campers, holiday home owners, and resident Peninsula children); personal sense of place (pakeha respondents who had moved to the Peninsula, including

immigrants); ancestral sense of place (pakeha respondents raised on the Peninsula); and cultural sense of place (Maori respondents). These forms of classification had not been attempted before in previous research on sense of place.

Several contexts were found to affect the development of respondents' senses of place further: the physical environment (topography and cultural landscape); society; community; home and family; and culture (for Maori respondents). The home and community contexts were found to be more important in the development of pakeha respondents' senses of place, while culture was significant among Maori; and so, these three contexts will be discussed in more detail.

In a phenomenological sense, the dwelling experience in and around the home was of consequence to respondents, but was seldom noted: they simply felt "at home" in their comfortable surroundings (see Dovey, 1985b; Norberg-Schulz, 1977). Peninsula respondents' homes invariably had a warm ambience, derived from personal touches of several generations of inhabitants, the cluttered look of the decor, and the natural wood interiors. The importance of the home environment in developing a sense of place was evident among most respondents. However, this aspect of place experience was not highlighted previously in material on sense of place.

Respondents felt a sense of privacy and security at home, as their homes were often in remote locations and surrounded by large expanses of open country. The transference of place feelings from parent(s) to child was found to occur at an early age through interviews with children. Also, husbands and their wives often had similar senses of place, as did other family members. The importance of this embryonic stage in the development of sense of place related to the transference of qualities across generations; the likelihood that people's sense of place is more family than individually-based is not highlighted in previous sense of place research. And yet during my fieldwork, motivation to stay on the Peninsula was quite apparent among adults who had been raised there, as was a family-based sense of place; if they lived on a "family farm", such attributes were usually even more pronounced. The carry over of sentiments from father to son and mother to daughter through the generations is thus an essential feature in the development of sense of place, as is the union between husband and wife.

The happy childhood of most respondents had left an imprint on many out-migrants as well (see Norberg-Schulz, 1977): they still treasured the Peninsula even after decades away. The bonds to out-migrants' (past) place linger on in the form of good memories, with the qualities of that bond remaining much unchanged; in their absence, though, the Peninsula itself had changed a great deal. The importance of former places to one's life is somewhat obvious, yet sense of place researchers had not interviewed residents who had moved away, instead focussing only on those who remained in a place. This type of research may give a fairly one-sided view of place experience, soliciting only positive feelings (from people who chose to remain) or negative feelings (from people who would like to leave, but could not).

The size of communities was not important in the development of Peninsula respondents' sense of place, as was also recognized by Kasarda and Janowitz (1974). However, the intimate scale of Peninsula communities is quite essential to the development of social belonging, which is later transferred to place feelings (see also Sale, 1980). The significance of strong community spirit in the development of sense of place has not been an issue in previous research, as the focus was on individuals and not on their context. Also, urban-based research normally examines neighbourhoods, which are often less cohesive in spirit. The importance of key members of the community in the maintenance of that spirit has likewise been disregarded, perhaps because the uniqueness of people in their respective community roles has not been examined. Instead, more generalized views of people have been assumed in a behavioural research framework, based on random samples.

The Maori concept of *tangata whenua*, passed on through cultural rituals, binds them to their ancestral, tribal home in such a profound way that they feel part of their place, and often must return "home" if away. There is little conceptual separation between Maori and their place: Maori thus do not "leave" their place, even when they have journeyed some physical distance from its geographical position on the globe. Cultural (and societal) influences on the development of sense of place were not highlighted in previous sense of place research, particularly at the level of cosmology. However, the *tangata whenua* status is very important to resident Iratehu, even though their population numbers were at a low point during my research. *Kaumatu*a were maintaining their cultural traditions and revitalizing their *marae*, with support from Maori out-migrants and residents alike. Among *kaumatua* the cultural influence

on their sense of place was most apparent, thus contrasting the character of Maori sense of place with Western, modern peoples.

Besides effects from these contexts, regular travels around the Peninsula aided respondents in the definition of their "home ground" (see Horton and Reynolds, 1969; Stanton, 1986), as centered on their own homes (see Buttimer, 1980). Their feelings of territoriality were also bolstered by the Peninsula's topography, forming natural enclosures and setting it apart from the Canterbury Plains (see Norberg-Schulz, 1977). These feelings typically became stronger over many years of residence in the Peninsula, with some older respondents speaking as if they "owned" their place in a tribal (Maori) and legal (pakeha) sense. Alexander's phenomenological definition of place as "a centre of collective or individual meaning" (in Dovey, 1985b, 94-95) is appropriate to this territorial view.

The physical nature of the Peninsula; respondents' experiences in their place; and personal effects socially, from home, community and culture, were therefore all important in the development of their sense of place. However, some respondents' senses of place were also lessened through place change; economic restructuring, recession and drought; and out-migration. The lessening (and loss) of sense of place has seldom been mentioned in sense of place research, except by Rowles (1978) and Porteous (1989). Most respondents chose to remain in the Peninsula in the face of such effects. Only a few would have been unable to move away if they had so desired, and the ones who did move out were most often transients who already had strong social contacts outside the Peninsula (see Roseman, 1983).

The sense of a personal investment in a place, and remaining there against all odds, has not been emphasized in the humanistic literature, while geographical literature on natural disasters has addressed this phenomenon only from the perspective of disasters. Instead, the geographical literature concerning sense of place has been more concerned with individuals who are more mobile, moving from place to place and forming personal feelings for their current place of residence. This may be applicable to modern, urban societies, especially to North America (see Packard, 1972), but a sense of place that is contextually defined, and strongly rooted to one place, was found to be of greater importance for respondents in my own study.

Similarly, the place identity among my respondents was not an individual concern (see Proshansky et al, 1983) as much as a family, community and tribal concern among my respondents. The contextual character of one's life has thus not been seen as significant to the development of sense of place in such specific terms, even by geographers. They instead wrote in more general terms about one's place context socially (e.g. Eyles, 1989; Ley, 1983b; Tuan, 1977). Respondents were found to live in a homeland which, when it was momentarily or totally lost - as with out-migrants who had recently moved out (and had liked the place) - represented a part of themselves: the "identity crisis" that was triggered by such displacement came about through the loss of this context.

Mobile respondents felt this less, yet a great number had also chosen to return to the Peninsula after a period of absence, which demonstrates the importance of place context in their lives (see also Long, 1988, on return migration). A "rational, decision-making process" may have occurred with these return migrants (see Stokols and Shumaker, 1981), but it was probably emotional considerations that were of more importance, as the Peninsula is not a place of great economic opportunity, but is a place of great beauty which engenders feelings of social belonging (if one is, or has been, an insider there). As such, the residential satisfaction literature, which concentrates on "cost-benefit analyses", is more appropriate to an urban populace of mobile individuals than to my own case study.

In summary, the description of sense of place that I used for Peninsula respondents enabled different aspects of the phenomenon - sense of place - that were closely allied in respondents' minds to be grouped together. However, this criterion may not be entirely appropriate for urban people. The six "types" of sense of place that I described covered the variation among my sample, while divisions of "embryonic", "commitment", and "culmination" described its development in general terms, with an examination of respondents by age groups aiding in this clarification.

However, the conceptual divisions of perceptual, experiential and emotional realms that I used to clarify sense of place in the literature review (see Chapter 3) were more arbitrary, as these realms were found to inter-relate a lot among respondents in my empirical study: sense of place is thus a whole phenomenon which cannot easily be separated into parts for analysis.

Such realms were useful, though, in clarifying relationships among the plethora of academic material related to sense of place.

The variation that I found between modern and indigenous peoples' sense of place is most significant, as this general division has not been made previously in academics' conceptions of sense of place. Instead, general statements have often been made about sense of place as if they applied to all peoples worldwide, but were, in effect, only applicable to modern (and often Western) peoples. To examine this variation in my research project, additional material beyond the confines of my study area - particularly on Maori sense of place - had to be sought from elsewhere in New Zealand. Due to the importance of cross-cultural perspectives, the next section places my case study in a national and Maori pan-tribal context, followed by an overview of modern and indigenous peoples. Theoretical considerations of sense of place are covered in Chapter 12.

### 11.3 National and Maori Pan-Tribal

The case study of Banks Peninsula needs to be placed into a national context to note qualities intrinsic to the Peninsula situation, and the importance of the Peninsula in a national sense. The results concerning Maori cultural influences on the Peninsula also need to be augmented by other material to get a whole picture of those influences. Societal influences on Peninsula respondents, and the status of Maori culture on the Peninsula in relationship to that elsewhere in New Zealand, were already discussed in Chapter 10. In this section the national context will first be briefly addressed, followed by a more lengthy discussion of pan-tribal cultural influences on Maori sense of place.

Banks Peninsula has some qualities that are very different from those of other places in New Zealand. Because of its topography the people living there were relatively isolated until the late 1950s, when a sealed road was completed between Christchurch and Akaroa. In a population sense, there are very few people resident in my study area; after the local government reforms of 1989, Banks Peninsula had the smallest population of any district in New Zealand, even when Lyttelton Harbour's population was included. The stability of tenure of farms on the Peninsula was said by farmers there to be unusual in New Zealand, with many farms having been handed down along family lines for six or seven generations since first pakeha settlement in the 1840s.



The very small number of Maori residents living in the Peninsula was the result of a prolonged feud with Te Rauparaha in the late 1820s; although other tribes and *hapu* have lost members in pre-Treaty times in New Zealand, this feud occurred just prior to the major period of pakeha settlement in the Peninsula, and the slaughter of Irakehu males was almost total. Also of national importance was the attempted French colonization of Akaroa in 1840, spurring the British Governor to hasten the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Nevertheless, small landings of French settlers occurred in Akaroa in late 1840, without the town being designated a French colony. This French heritage makes Akaroa unique in New Zealand, helping to draw increased numbers of tourists. The large number of Hector's Dolphins in nearshore waters helps as well, as do the spectacular, sea-breached volcanic craters, two features that are again rare elsewhere in the country.

The topography and relative isolation, small population base and settlement pattern, long tenure of pakeha on farms, Maori culture, and beautiful scenery have combined on Banks Peninsula to influence the development - in different ways - of a strong sense of place among most of its residents, pakeha and Maori. Several residents there told me that similar strong sentiments occur among residents in the West Coast region of the South Island, and in the Chatham Islands, a small island group belonging to New Zealand, 600 kilometers east of Banks Peninsula (see Fig. 6-1). Both regions have small populations, and are known for the strong character of their people. The residents are family-based, community-minded, and insider status is only gained after decades.

However, a comparison of Maori sense of place between the Peninsula and other New Zealand regions required further exploration on my part. It is well known that Maori residents of certain North Island Maori heartland areas have deep feelings for their place. Those which are strongly developed include that of the Ngati Porou (East Cape); Ngati Tuwharetoa (King Country); Te Arawa (Rotorua); Tuhoe (Urewera Mountains); and Tainui (Waikato: see Fig. 6-2). I travelled to Rotorua and to the Tuhoe tribal stronghold in the Ureweras, talking with *kaumatua* in both regions. Through these talks, my coursework and readings, I was able to place the Maori Peninsula respondents' comments in perspective. I also learned much more about Maori sense of place, in a pan-tribal sense. The remaining paragraphs in this section will

detail those findings. The basis for this discussion has been laid in Chapter 6; reference can also be made to Hay (1989).

In Maori cosmology, beliefs are tied together in a cohesive whole, which becomes tangible through tribal life and rituals. The Maori way of life is an example of being in nature, where there is reverence for life and belonging to both place and people. Of prime importance is how Maori cosmology differs markedly from that of modern peoples. Cosmology is based on a home region, but also encompasses a tribe's past journeys, exploits and beliefs concerning the origin of the world. Spiritual beliefs are intertwined with sense of place, tied as it is to *turangawaewae*, their "standing place" on the *marae*, where feelings of *wairua* are strongest. Also, as *tangata whenua*, members of each tribe are conscious that they are born of the earth, are part of the earth, and return to the earth of *Aotearoa* when they die. Because of these beliefs, Maori are "part of the world" and "at one with the world", which in turn is the source of their life force (*mauri-ora*). There is no separation of person/nature or person/world in Maori cosmology (Gray, 1988b; Murton, 1987; Yoon, 1986). Their feelings of *aroha* for *Papa-tua-nuku* (mother earth) give their lives a basis from which to respect the earth.

Maori cosmology extends to their conceptions of space and time. The spatial extent of sense of place differs between Maori and pakeha: pakeha have strongest feelings toward the small block of land that they own, whereas Maori feelings are based on their *marae*, and on the territory of their *hapu* and tribe. Geometric space is of little consequence to Maori in their social relations: kinfolk are normally more important through lineage and emotional attachment than through proximity. This is evident through Maori trips "home" to their *marae* for visiting relations, and to help with local Maori ceremonies.

A traditional Maori view of time is not linear and divided into past/present/future as it is with modern people; instead, all phases of time are interwoven, and all give Maori tribal members both strength and continuity through an awareness of heritage (Murton, 1979). Maori time sense is in rhythm with nature and tied to tribal practices. Even to the present day, communal rituals and special events are not bounded by a modern conception of time: they begin when auspicious and end when complete. A *tangi* may last for four or five days, with relatives formally in grieving for months afterwards (Murton, 1979). Ancestors are still thought to be present by Maori, especially by *kaumatua*.

Maori language conveys the beliefs of their cosmology: it is less complex in its structure and vocabulary than European languages, and yet more expressive and tied to particular localities. Words for personal, spiritual and emotional states are commonly used; local place names often have special significance, as do names of ancestors and *tapu* (sacred) objects. The extent of Maori sense of place is shown by contrasting the English question "Where are you from?" with Maori phraseology: they would say either "*Kei hea to kainga?*" (Where is your home?), or "*No hea koe?*" (Where do you belong?).

In another example, this time involving feelings for people, the simple English statement "I love you" in Maori is "*E aroha ana au ki a koe*". "*E aroha ana*" (love, in its widest sense) is a verb form that encompasses past, present, or future; the pronoun "*au*" (I) also follows the verb instead of asserting its prominence at the beginning of a sentence as in English. "*Ki*" (to) indicates belonging; "*a*" introduces the pronoun "*koe*" (you). And so, a literal English translation in a linear word order would read: "Loving, I, to you (belong)". In Maori language the word order does not place people in a primary position. Within this cosmology subject and object are melded in a whole concept, with the noun in relation to that which is perceived/used (confirmed by Gray, 1990).

Maori do not objectify or compartmentalize the world. This is apparent in the way that they counted prior to European contact: there were numbers for one, two and three (*koe*, *korua*, *koutou*), for a small group (*ropu*), a large group (*ope*), and multitudes (*tini*). Maori did not try to count each particular person or item beyond three, as they did not see any need to do so (Gray, 1988b). Instead, they believed in unity.

Relations often form the fabric of Maori social life. Identity is based upon a group, not on the individual. This is evident in the seemingly simple question "*Ko wai koe?*" (Who are you?). To answer this, a Maori man would recount his entire *whakapapa* (genealogy) if he was challenged on the *marae*. The protocol among most Maori tribes is for only men to speak formally on the *marae*; however, identity and tribal standing of both men and women are based on ancestry and current kinship linkages. Also, people who marry into a tribe may adopt the new tribe's customs and try to link themselves to the genealogy of that group.

Because Maori have an oral culture, wisdom and beliefs are transferred through rituals and the teachings of their *kaumatua*. *Waiata* (songs) carry the beliefs and history of a tribe in a

poetic form. They are usually sung by a group, with members using movement and body postures to represent the actions of a story. There can be great sorrow or joy expressed (and war-like posturing in a *haka*); these emotions are deeply felt, solidifying their beliefs.

Reciting myths; practising *waiata*; performing rituals involved with *tangi*, *hui*, and *powhiri* (formal welcome on to a *marae*); and doing carvings on houses, tools, weapons, canoes, and even their own faces (*moko*) renew links on a daily basis with the beliefs of Maori culture. Tribal ceremonies are conducted at the centre of a village's spiritual strength - on the *marae* - and are accompanied by appropriate *karakia* (religious chants) and *waiata*. The extent that Maori believe in their culture is evidenced by a breach of what is considered *tapu*: this can result in illness and even death for the offender.

Many Maori have remained tied to their traditional culture as rooted in a tribal homeland, through kinship, communal lifestyle, local resource use, place names, carvings, rituals, language and localized ancestry. Both kinship ties and a communal lifestyle in one confined locality bond members of a tribe to a particular place (Mead, 1988). They are the people of that tribal land, the *tangata whenua*, the "people born out of the placenta of mother Earth". Links with *whanau/hapu/iwi* provide support for their day-to-day lives.

Without a spiritual and tribal basis, without a regular connection with their *kaumatua* and the practice of rituals on home *marae*, the cultural sense of place of Maori people tends to dissipate. Modernized, urban Maori, who are not connected to their culture and meeting house, are said by *kaumatua* to have lost their *mauri* (soul). They are no longer strongly rooted to their tribal land or cradled within their extended family. Too many have instead become casualties of the modern system in New Zealand (see Awatere, 1984), and are not well connected to either culture.

And so, it is the depth of Maori cosmology which links them to their place, giving both solace and *mana*. The multiplicity of connections with place in Maori culture forms strong bonds, which often last a lifetime even if a tribal member has moved far away. It is part of a way of life that has almost vanished among modern people, making an indigenous sense of place much more noticeable in its wholeness and depth.

#### 11.4 Cross-cultural: Modern/Indigenous

A comparison between what was found in my fieldwork concerning Banks Peninsula and generalizations on modern and indigenous peoples provides an overview of my research that helps to demonstrate its larger significance. Comparisons are thus made between local and international features of society; many Banks Peninsula features which I note are also present at the national scale within New Zealand (see Chapter 6).

There has been some convergence of Maori and pakeha sense of place in New Zealand since the time of early colonial settlement, but many Maori still retain close links with their traditional tribal culture, with a renaissance in their cultural traditions presently occurring. Although Maori people are modernized to a large extent, it is the pakeha populace that is the most Westernized, exhibiting cultural traits common to other Western, English-speaking democracies.

Modern and indigenous peoples will be treated in contrast in this section, with explicit reference to Peninsula examples. In general, the pakeha rural residents of the Peninsula are not as modernized and urbanized as their counterparts in large cities, thus representing a transitional state between indigenous and urban poles. Their rural way of life will be shown to be significant in this regard, and is even more so because of the gradual loss of this way of life worldwide. Reference can be made to Chapter 1 to substantiate the generalizations made on modern and indigenous peoples.

The thinking style of modern people has been characterized as individualistic, reductionist and dualistic (see Berman, 1984; Drengson, 1983), with such people prone to objectifying the world around them through compartmentalization, classification and hierarchies. Individualism permeates modern peoples' thought, with an egocentric emphasis commonplace. Dualism is present in splits between mind/body, person/world, humankind/nature and humans/other species, with this last split leading as well to anthropocentrism.

Within the Peninsula, pakeha exemplify this individualism, with farm families expected to "go it alone" economically. Dualism and anthropocentrism are present in their treatment of humans versus other species: farm animals especially are seen as an "other", from which a

living can be gained. In displays of affection, such animals are separated from household pets; this division also is maintained between working (sheep) dogs and pet dogs.

Divisions are still present between social classes in the Peninsula, particularly among pakeha, although this occurred more strongly in the past. A hierarchical classification is often used to delineate groups of people, and stereotypes are employed to "label" people in a prejudicial fashion. Individualistic and dualistic thought patterns tend to separate pakeha from their place, while classifications maintain a traditional social order.

In contrast, the Maori respondents who are connected to their traditional Maori culture are not as individualistic: instead, the extended family (*whanau*), which fosters group rather than individual identity, is more important. There are distinctions made between *kaumatua*, *rangatira* and other culture members in Maori society, but among *kaumatua* there is little separation between person and world in their thinking. The belief by Samuels (1981, 117) that humans are naturally alienated from the world in thought, needing to "enter into relations with it" was not found to be supportable when Maori *kaumatua* were interviewed.

There was a resource exploitation attitude inherent in the treatment of the land by pakeha respondents in the Peninsula. They "worked" it to make a living, and felt that they "owned" it as well. Some expressed feelings of stewardship, with this feeling more common among pakeha farmers who had localized ancestry on the same land: some even openly stated that they "loved" the land itself. However, the pakeha attitude was more directed toward land use and consumption, with a "having" versus a "being" way of living characteristic (see Fromm, 1976).

A degree of resource exploitation and anthropocentrism was also found among Maori respondents. Maori now live in a modern economy which promotes humankind over nature; most younger Maori generally accept this view, although this attitude is tempered by a respect for the land, especially among *kaumatua*. There is less egocentrism in Maori behaviour, though, with humility and respect for others more often observed. This attitude carries over into a lack of labelling other people, and an obvious warmth in their manner when hosting visitors.

More obvious differences between modern and indigenous peoples were observed in assessments of their respective sets of spiritual beliefs. Maori respondents who are connected

to their culture believe that the Earth is alive with spirits, especially those of their ancestors. The landscape itself is seen as sacred. Maori cosmology thus links them to their place, with their *turangawaewae*, often centered on a rural *marae*, representing a personal focal point for that cosmology. A more intellectual approach was observed among pakeha respondents; some are very religious, but only a few make the connection between their spirituality and their sense of place. As such, modern monotheistic beliefs tie people to a moral code, but not to their own place.

The lifestyle of modern people is often work-oriented, consumptive and fast-paced. Because of the rural nature of the Peninsula, pakeha there did not display these traits as strongly. They emphasize hard work as a fundamental principle of their lives. Tedious routines are not commonplace, as a variety of work is done on a farm, upon which most Peninsula pakeha base their lives. The pace of life is also much more relaxed, although time was watched more closely than among Maori respondents. Jokes were often made by pakeha about "Maori time", inferring that things were seldom done rapidly or "on time" in the Maori way of life. In my travels around the Peninsula, though, pakeha were also observed putting unpleasant tasks off indefinitely, especially in inclement weather or if the mood did not suit them. As such, farmers too have more flexibility with their time than do city dwellers.

The modern orientation toward specialized skills, mobility, and being interchangeable parts in a vast economic, industrial machine was not very noticeable among Peninsula respondents. Most lived a traditional, farming lifestyle and were thus their own bosses, were not very specialized in their work, and were not as prone to mobility (i.e. moving away from the Peninsula: see also Berry, 1977). Peninsula respondents had a long average length of residence (33 years), whereas most urban residents move much more often. Many who had "pulled up roots" and left the Peninsula - both Maori and pakeha - had later returned, often due to an ancestral attachment to the land. This reason for returning to a place would be rare among most urbanites (see Roseman, 1983; Roseman and Oldakowski, 1984).

There was, though, some lack of sensitivity among pakeha toward their place and place feelings. Taken-for-grantedness may be part of the modern condition, in that routine events are not noticed. Modern people do not appear to want to notice such trivialities. Their sense of wonder instead revolves around what is "new". However, among Maori their traditions and

Peninsula scenes are well-appreciated: they thus keep aware of their sense of place through their rituals and feelings for the land, while pakeha see their place feelings in more of an everyday sense. The pakeha attitude toward sense of place can allow an attitude of placelessness to develop (see Relph, 1976), especially in urban living situations. Without a sacred attitude to the land, as in a "land ethic" (see Leopold, 1949) or a cosmology which ties culture members directly to their place, modern people can miss the larger significance of sense of place, and be the lesser for it (see Cox, 1968; Hay, 1989). This point is expanded upon in the conclusion to the dissertation.

Strong territorial feelings for the Peninsula were found among both Maori and pakeha respondents. For residents, insider/outsider divisions are based on ancestry and length of residence; in contrast, visitors and holiday makers are often categorized as interlopers by residents. Many Peninsula respondents deliberately chose to live in the Peninsula to escape the sensory overload, noise, traffic, crime, crowding and pollution of cities: they did not want hordes of holiday makers to bring these problems to their front door.

The love of place was readily apparent among most Peninsula respondents, whereas there are many "non-place" people in modern societies who have a more instrumental association with their place (see Eyles, 1985; Steele, 1981). Some older pakeha males did demonstrate a more "functional" approach to their Peninsula place, with rational detachment used to economically appraise their current situation. However, they seldom moved away, preferring instead to "tough out" the economic recession and drought of the late 1980s.

Cultural rituals to link tribal members with their land occur regularly among Maori respondents. Pakeha residents appeared to be largely unaware of such gatherings, preferring to believe that Maori culture had just about disappeared in the Peninsula. Local Maori were supported by out-migrants in these rituals, telling me that they were "keeping the spirit warm" in their respective *marae*. Pakeha respondents had some rituals too, as in going to church or community clubs, but these were not recognized as being central to the development of their sense of place. Maori rituals were also more dynamic in character, with *waiata* and *haka* particularly so: these tended to transform Maori respondents, with them being "more Maori" during and shortly after such rituals. Both *karakia* and *whai-korero* by tribal elders on the *marae* enhanced this feeling among Maori respondents as well.



Through the conquest of previous Maori tribes, the Irakehu Ngai Tahu have appropriated Peninsula land, thus becoming the *tangata whenua* of Banks Peninsula. This was similar to what Bonnemaïson (1984) observed among the Ipai tribe of Vanuatu. Strong alliances are also maintained between Irakehu and neighbouring *hapu* (see Bonnemaïson, 1984; Flynn in Chatwin, 1987). This was done in former times to provide assistance against warring parties, and to enable hunting and gathering in each other's territory to take place. Because Peninsula Maori now live in a modern economic system, these alliances are more important in maintaining cultural activities. This has become especially significant as Maori culture rebuilds in the South Island, and as land claims are heard.

Maori, like all indigenous peoples, believe that "if we lose the land, we lose ourselves" (Ley, 1977, 508). In this belief they show how deeply the land, even if changed into a different cultural landscape, is part of themselves. The cultural sense of place that they have developed based on their cosmology and tribal rituals creates more connections to place than is apparent among pakeha, even among those with long ancestry in the Peninsula. Several pakeha respondents told me that they could live anywhere in New Zealand; in a cosmological sense their religious beliefs are also not locally-based. As such, their sense of place is more based on individual choice and localized ancestry, with movement around the nation quite possible. Among Maori there is a cultural, tribal basis to their sense of place, which cannot be denied simply by moving away.

And so, modern and indigenous senses of place are considered to be quite different, although rural residents do have less alienating forces influencing them, such as in thought patterns, mobility, and a country lifestyle. Placelessness is thus not an important phenomenon in the rural setting of Banks Peninsula, whereas sense of place is often strong there among residents, especially among the Irakehu, the *tangata whenua*.

### 11.5 Personal

In this section I will initially show how my own influences on the research are an important consideration. The remainder of this section has been divided into two sub-sections to separate disparate material. In the first sub-section my feelings of displacement in New Zealand are reviewed, and then compared briefly with those felt by foreign students and staff at

the University of Canterbury. In the second sub-section, parallels between modern people's emotional feelings for their place and for their mate (love partner) are made.

It is common for a researcher to consider what effect he or she has on the data gathering process, and on the respondents themselves. In my own case I have tried not to "put words in respondents' mouths", but I have still asked direct, prompting questions at times. I have also separated respondents' views from my own, both during interviewing and in the analysis and presentation of results. These are common-sense fundamentals for good interviewing procedure, but they are sometimes difficult to hold to among pliable and/or acquiescent respondents. I felt that I kept from polluting respondents' views in the main by "keeping my mouth shut" and simply listening.

As for what effect I had had on respondents, I feel that this has been negligible for most respondents. I have had a greater effect on a few respondents who have become friends. I have helped them realize how important their own sense of place is in their lives, at a time when they have been under stress to the point where some have considered moving away. I have thus supported them through difficult times. I have also given moral support to the development of Onuku *marae*, being pleased by its gradual re-establishment over the past three years as a Maori cultural centre in the Peninsula.

My research findings may have a more effect on other respondents in the future. By and large my results are not contentious, and reflect a situation that respondents know exists on the Peninsula. During interviews, I have helped some respondents to clarify their feelings for their place and to see how their sense of place developed. My findings have detailed subtleties which many of them take for granted in their place feelings. And so, my research may provide for them insight into their own lifeworlds, especially in cross-cultural understanding. Such understanding has begun in the Peninsula already, partly as a result of my interviews and more informal meetings with respondents. However, these processes are part of those that are happening in the larger New Zealand context as well, over which I have almost no influence.

My own manner has had more effect on the data gathering, however. Approaching my research topic directly both in the field and at the university was a problem, due to pakeha New Zealanders' natural aversion to a direct approach. Several immigrants that I interviewed on the

Peninsula and other foreign friends noticed this characteristic among native New Zealanders.

Comments from one immigrant, a very direct American, are included below:

Another quality that I noticed in the beginning, and I feel that I've lost it with a certain amount of grief, was the kind of feeling that I would have had that there is a way to do everything. And that speaking up and speaking out was one of the quickest ways to arrive at a solution or plan or whatever . . . The kind of thing that would tend to happen [in Le Bons Bay] was that nobody would actually say right off what they've wanted or what their idea was for achieving the end. Let's say that it was a community project, or even a group project, everybody was very careful going right round the group and going very, very slow and coming forward and saying things only if it seemed the group was going to approve. And that was totally opposite to the way I was educated . . . (David Lewis, quoted previously in the results chapters).

Because my question lists were designed to approach a respondent's sense of place from several different angles, my research design seemed to fit in well with New Zealanders' own ways.

My own qualities were definitely of importance in being able to apply my methodology successfully (see Pocock, 1988a). I have lived in rural areas for most of my life, and am fairly personable, talkative and easygoing by nature. Because my fieldwork involved meeting with and interviewing rural residents in Banks Peninsula, I needed to draw on these personal qualities and previous experience. Since I have moved often in the past (and because I was now in a foreign culture), my history of mobility could also be compared to residents' stability through self-reflection.

My own skills as an interviewer were often challenged in the Peninsula, as many of the respondents are very strong characters who would tell me openly to "push off" if I acted in an inappropriate fashion, or who would direct the line of questioning down blind alleys of little relevance if allowed. Having some maturity (I am in my mid-30s), being married myself for a number of years, having been an army officer in Canada, and having used interviewing procedures previously in my M.A. all helped in giving me enough character to deal with them. My ready sense of humour was also an asset that was mutually recognized in the first few minutes of meeting, and which helped to "break the ice" and put us all at ease.

When I researched sense of place in Canada for my M.A., it was more of an academic issue, as I was not "away from home". Consequently, being homesick in New Zealand made the research come alive, both for myself and for when I was communicating with respondents about their emotional feelings for their place. Because I did not know much about New Zealand before I arrived, I also had fewer biases than did members of the resident cultures,

both pakeha and Maori. This lack of prejudice was especially helpful when interviewing Maori *kaumatua*, as they can often "read" a person well and tell if you are sincere. Many of them confided that they would not have spoken with me if I had been a New Zealand pakeha, especially a sociologist, as they did not trust them.

And so, because of the research design, I have been able to gain greater perspective on my own and respondents' senses of place, and have used personal qualities to advantage in fieldwork, without unduly affecting respondents or their responses. The effects of this research on myself will now be detailed.

#### 11.5.1 Displacement and Understanding Sense of Place

Eyles (1985, 31) regards self-reflection as an important research methodology, which should be "established alongside the empirical-analytical and historical-hermeneutic, the empiricist and the interpretive (*sic*)". The comparison of my own past experiences with those occurring during my research is thus of vital concern, though, I also found this to be very difficult emotionally at times. When I was in a period of intense homesickness, it did not help to hear from respondents that they were "very happy" to be settled in "such a beautiful place". It just made me feel all the worse, like some rootless "non-person", drifting across the world. It was very hard to carry on with fieldwork at such times.

By contrasting my position with that of respondents I was able to ascertain some interesting findings about how sense of place develops. I found that context was very important, that none of us is truly an individual. This point "came home" when my wife and I became aware, after our first few weeks here, that we were cut off from home, and in a foreign culture far from Canada. In our new situation we also fully realized that our very personalities had been supported at home by our family and friends, by routine trips around familiar places in Victoria, and by the nature of the culture and physical environment there. Our sense of place feelings were thus an issue, and we fully realized through leaving "home" just how important having a sense of place was to us in a personal sense.

I also quickly realized in a personal way the difficulties that people go through in adapting to a new place. To form bonds to a new social group it is like "venturing out into the unknown"; I was less shy than my wife in this respect, but we both found it extremely uncomfortable. An example of this awkwardness revolves around my first few *marae*

experiences. I did not know Maori language or customs, and everything about being there, on a *marae*, in their natural environment felt strange.

There were kids running everywhere during formal Maori speeches in the *powhiri* - the greeting ceremony to welcome another tribe on to the *marae* - which seemed odd to one raised in an atmosphere where more discipline prevailed. Some speeches (*whai-korero*) seemed to last forever, with my ignorance of Maori language keeping me from feeling part of the proceedings. Deference to *kaumatua* was very apparent during the *whai-korero*, and I could literally feel their presence, their *mana*, when I was close to them. After a while I realized that suspension of time was part of the ceremony: when it occurred was not as important as how it occurred.

An obvious warmth between the Maori on both sides was present during the *powhiri*, yet some tension lingered until the ceremony had been completed and the *hongi* - the touching of noses to exchange the breath of life - had occurred. Then generous helpings of *kai* (food) were served to all, and much singing (in Maori) and laughter filled the air. This went on until late in the night, and the time between getting to sleep (on the floor, alongside snoring strangers) and being awakened by raucous children in the morning seemed very short. It was all a bit much for one used to more reserved and orderly modes of social conduct. Yet I was definitely attracted to aspects of their way of life.

And so, although I felt like a stranger at times on the *marae*, I felt welcome and intrigued as well. I certainly did not fit in entirely; in fact, as a pakeha Canadian in a room full of Maori, I tended to stick out in a rather uncomfortable way. Through a number of return visits to different *marae*, however, and by learning aspects of Maori culture and language, I gradually felt as if I belonged in their cultural settings. But I still feel a certain degree of strangeness at times. Frake (1983) describes the "ideal" ethnographer as one who:

"lives in the exotic setting, adapts to the culture (bravely overcoming the 'culture shock'), learns the awesomely difficult language, and thoroughly enjoys the experience in spite of the suffering" (63).

I suppose that this description fits me to a degree, although the suffering more often outweighed the enjoyment. My wife, who also had to endure the culture shock in coming here, is inherently shy. She has not undergone such an intense learning process, and usually preferred to retreat into the safety (and privacy) of our own "home".

We both felt like "aliens" in New Zealand for our first six months here, and felt like "outsiders" for the first time in our lives, due to our North American accents. It was a strange feeling. There was a lack of a support system for us with family, and we felt that we would move away if a major crisis came our way. Because of these feelings of displacement, we were able to relate readily to the difficulties of other foreign students and immigrants that we met around the university and on Banks Peninsula. We also found that we still wanted "outsider" human contact and interaction at times to maintain our perspective on New Zealand, but this desire was balanced by a need for Kiwi friends as well. We gradually developed a small network of these friends, but we realized that it would probably take a generation to feel "at home" in New Zealand. Personal commitment to staying seemed a necessary precondition to gaining such a feeling; we knew intuitively that children of immigrant parents, born and raised here, would more easily feel part of this country.

Because my own abilities were an issue for my research to be successful, it was important that I had a feeling of stability while doing my research. I had to combat my depressed feelings - arising from homesickness and culture shock - through developing a support system. My wife was most important in this respect, but she also felt depressed at times. And so, it helped to be with other people to provide solace when it was most needed. As our living quarters was a tutor's flat in a hall of residence for university students, we always had people around, although that in itself was often trying. Developing a support network of friends, clubs, academic contacts and good, solid people in my study area helped further in lessening our culture shock, as did learning about New Zealand and the respondents themselves.

I also saw how my own sense of place feelings progressed in New Zealand while I was here. A diary and xeroxes of letters "home" to friends and family documented my adaptation process. The latter mode of documentation "kept me honest", as I was reluctant to lie to friends and family in letters; I put on a "brave face" sometimes, but most often I wanted to tell them my real feelings. After three years in New Zealand my wife and I now rarely feel homesick, and we have both almost totally adapted to living within New Zealand's two main cultures.

When I compared my displacement feelings to those of other foreigners I met, I found that they were very similar to my own. To note these trends in a more structured way, I developed a questionnaire, which I administered to various foreign students and staff at the University of Canterbury. I made contact through networking, especially at the halls of residence and in the Geography Department, which ensured that the 10-page questionnaire would be completed (see Appendix 1). Only those people who were temporarily resident in New Zealand were targetted for selection. In total there were 100 respondents, 87 of whom were students, drawn from 19 different countries. A precis of the findings will now be presented.

Feelings of displacement were found to continue if foreign residents thought that they would return to their native country. Trips "home" in the summer often maintained bonds there, as did letters, phone calls, friends at university, and practising cultural activities. Being out of their native land gave them greater perspective on their place; in New Zealand they also became ambassadors for their respective countries, and sometimes displayed more nationalism than they would have done at home, akin in this respect to new immigrants.

Displaced feelings occurred across all cultural groups represented in the sample, but were most pronounced among young adults who were away from "home" for the first time. These feelings were strongest during the first few months here, and in times of stress (e.g. exam periods; long bouts of wintry, rainy weather). However, if the respondents were attempting to forge ties with New Zealand, and were seriously considering trying to remain here afterwards, their feelings for "home" - including those for their nation and/or region - usually lessened dramatically after about two or three years away.

Only preliminary results are available at this time; further qualitative and quantitative analyses are required, and will be completed as a separate project. The analysis of displacement questionnaires of foreign students and staff at the University of Canterbury thus support my informal talks with foreigners, and highlight the importance of sense of place cross-culturally. This analysis also supports my review of out-migrants' senses of place (see Section 9.2).

### 11.5.2 Relations with One's Mate and One's Place

Through reflection I believe that the emotional feelings involved in a person's relationship with place closely parallel the feelings that people have for each other, especially with their lovers and/or mates. I have linked my own research on place mainly to love between modern people (see Lewis, 1985), as I have personal experience in such matters; some reference is also made to the love arrangements common to indigenous peoples (see Cameron, 1987; Marsh, 1988). The following discussion concerns modern people's love relationships unless otherwise stated. The significance of this analogy between love and place relationships becomes clear by the close of this section, especially for the modern condition of these relationships.

Marsh (1988, 102) notes that in all cultures marriage partners are most often selected from "a narrow band of people who share with us similar status, social class, values and lifestyle"; there are also cross-cultural similarities in this selection whether the marriage is arranged or not. In courtship, love and excitement are common at the start of a relationship. Liking a place can thus be compared to a new romance in that feelings of affection and excitement quickly form for a "good looking" and beneficent place. A period of heightened sensation, when everything feels fresh and new, characterizes new relationships with both places and love partners.

With a person's relationship with place, initially there is often some emotional distance, as one is not yet part of the place. With love partners it is a relationship between two individuals in the beginning, who gradually become closer. If each person wants to stay longer in the relationship, more people become involved. Introductions to the other partner's family are part of wider social involvement and sanction by families, similar to getting involved in a new community and being accepted as an insider there.

When the "honeymoon" period is over, though, and the place is seen from a clearer perspective, the person may move on: the romance ends. If that person remains, after long residence in a well-liked place it tends to be taken-for-granted, although it may be loved even more, resembling the status of feelings of partners in most long-term marriages. People often choose to stay in a place during difficult times, even if they have economic opportunities elsewhere, due to feelings of security, familiarity and attachment; this is somewhat akin to



marital partners who remain together in tough circumstances, or in the face of offers from other interested parties. The "everyday" quality of their feelings for each other may be refreshed through an absence, real or imagined; people can realize the importance of their place feelings too in this manner.

A stronger sense of ownership develops for one's place when a person feels more like an insider there: the territoriality that is displayed when the place is threatened - by negative comments by outsiders or by real change, as in war or economic development - parallels the defence of one's marital status if an interloper intrudes to threaten or break up a marriage. Also, if a long-term resident leaves his or her place, there are feelings of loss and grief, again similar to one's feelings if a loved one leaves or passes on. These feelings gradually diminish, unless a separation is temporary or enforced.

Taking the analogy with human relationships a step further, serial marriages (and other strong, long-term relationships) could be likened to moving from place to place every few years, while affairs of the heart have almost the same emotional nature as tourism to exotic locales. It is interesting that in this latter example, sensual advertising is often used to market such locales.

There are other parallels that can be made too. In a marriage, two people tend to form a union, complementing each other after many years together; a similar phenomenon occurs with people who can be said to become "part of" their place after decades of residence. Just as marriage partners tend to shape each other's behaviour, people shape their place to suit their needs. After a period of inhabitation, the cultural landscape matches the people who reside in that locale.

The place bond, though, is different in that human emotions are not reciprocated from the land. And so, a person's strong feelings for his or her place are often lived through bonds to people: associated memories of good times with people in specific place settings; territoriality; social belonging in a community; and bonds to family and friends are all interwoven with place feelings. The psychological transference of feelings for people to feelings for the place is shown by a person's increased affection for a place where such bonds occur, especially if a person "fell in love" in that place; if one later moves from such a place, it is always remembered as being "special".

The modern view of love all too often has jealous and possessive overtones, upheld by social codes of behaviour and legal practices, as in adultery procedures. A monogamous style of marriage can become akin to the "ownership" of land through excessive jealousy and possessiveness. Indigenous people normally enter into polygamous relationships, with two or three wives common (Marsh, 1988). These relationships may be possessive at times too, but the ownership of land is not usually part of indigenous culture. The reasons for polygamy are also based on family considerations (to have many children, especially sons); economic reasons (to run a household); and social and political advantages (for social status: Danielsson, 1956, 133-134; see also Cameron, 1987, 32-33, on Polynesian love relationships).

The erosion of sense of place in modern society has paralleled that of the segmentation of the family unit, as based upon the union of husband and wife (see Tuan, 1982). A nuclear family is characteristic of small community life, but modern people, particularly husband and wife, have become more socially and economically independent through the division of work. With more women in paid employment now in modern societies, Berry's (1977, 117) quotation, that "without much in particular that they can do for each other, they have a scarcity of practical reasons to be together" highlights the lack of glue to bind relationships together.

Through reference to Berry (1977) I will explain how the weakening of marital ties has further weakened ties to place. In large cities, where anonymity prevails, marital relations have become less governed by social sanctions. The importance of strong marital ties among modern people is highlighted when it is put in a community context. When man and woman hold to their marriage vows, "it unites each of them with the community" as well: "the whole community is married, realizes its essential unity, in each of its marriages" (Berry, 1977, 122). However, among mobile modern people marriages are more likely to break apart: The shallow sense of place often found among modern, urban peoples is paralleled by increasing numbers of shallow relationships between love partners, and attendant rates of divorce.

The relationship between ties with a loved one and ties with place are summarized by Berry (1977) below, who emphasizes the importance of bonds to one place:

... one cannot live in the world; that is, one cannot become, in the easy, generalizing sense with which the phrase is commonly used, a 'world citizen.' There can be no such thing as a 'global village.' No matter how much one may love the world as a whole, one can live fully in it only by living responsibly in some small part of it.

Where we live and who we live there with define the terms of our relationship to the world and to humanity . . . one lives in marriage and in sexuality, at home and in the world. It is impossible, for instance, to conceive that a man could despise women and yet love his wife, or love his own place in the world and yet deal destructively with other places.

The misunderstanding between modern and indigenous cultures therefore runs deep, as an indigenous cosmology roots people to a particular place which cannot be "owned". Cox (1968) notes that:

. . . the present erosion of our sense of place has resulted in part from the secularization of our culture . . . [and] has arisen from our high mobility, always accompanied by less reverence for place, and by the technological mentality of our time which allows man to rearrange the material world freely and without undue deference to some presumed inherent significance intrinsic to it. (423).

When the dissolution of marriage is added to this list of effects on the erosion of sense of place, it hits home more personally. Our modern relationships with place parallel our relationships with our loved ones with almost too unerring exactitude.

These reflections have been included to show that our feelings for place are derived from our personal cosmology, and are very similar to how we go about relating to each other. Feminist geographers may find these parallels particularly intriguing, as they make new inroads into the study of our place relationships possible.

## 11.6 Concluding Remarks

The five contexts which have been described in this chapter demonstrate that the findings from the case study have significance at many different levels, and provide a wider context for those findings. The methodological context shows how using a number of methodologies in a complementary manner is advantageous to the study of sense of place. The application of methods in the field, however, required some adjustment be made to these methodologies. Additional material presented in Sections 11.3 and 11.5 on Maori cosmology and personal aspects concerning sense of place enables greater understanding to be reached on the phenomenon. The findings of academic significance were detailed in Section 11.2, while a cross-cultural overview was presented in Section 11.4.

In the concluding chapter of the dissertation, the academic findings in particular are referred to, toward their relevance to sense of place theory. Cross-cultural perspectives on sense of place are also highlighted. Since my case study has been placed into several broad contexts, the stage is now set for a presentation of my theory for sense of place, the central

feature of the next chapter. Philosophical and theoretical issues are first reviewed, to better understand the context of that theory.

## CHAPTER 12

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF SENSE OF PLACE THEORY

Together with my findings on sense of place reported in the previous chapters, research is now at an appropriate level of detail to permit the development of an initial theory. Many theoretical constructs have been advanced by various researchers, and these have been tested in the field. A theory can integrate these constructs, and point the way toward further investigation. In Chapter 1, I used a more general definition of theory (i.e. toward the formulation of underlying principles), and based my approach to theory development on "theory knitting", advocated by Kalmar and Sternberg (1988).

I have derived my theory for sense of place from the findings of my case study: it is primarily tied to that context, but it may have wider applicability. Axioms and laws are not the basis of this theory since I have adopted an interpretative philosophical stance. In that interpretation, it has become apparent that people's sense of place is a fairly stable phenomenon, often changing less rapidly than do places. Many factors have been found to be inter-related in the development of a sense of place, and can only be separated artificially, as they all affect a person simultaneously. However, principal factors may be identified, as can clusters of similar factors. Quantitative analyses can help in this respect, although these analyses should not take precedence over qualitative analyses, as this latter form of analysis provides a framework of meaning for quantification, especially for a phenomenon such as sense of place.

I have had to review a number of philosophical and theoretical issues in detail to develop my theory because of the complexity of my research project, and because theory is less advanced in human geography, as opposed to other branches of the social sciences. The first section reviews these issues, and concludes with a discussion of theory development. It is followed by a section which sets out my theory for sense of place in four stages. The next

section offers a number of research directions which could be followed up to extend this theory and its applications. A short section containing the conclusion to my research project closes the dissertation.

### 12.1 Philosophical and Theoretical Issues

The philosophical and theoretical positions that I have taken have a major effect on the development of sense of place theory. I have placed my research into an ontological framework (view of reality) that may differ from the normative position of many academics. As noted in Chapter 1, I adopted an interpretative rather than a normative philosophical position. And so, social interaction is context bound, with meanings affected by the actors involved. Meanings cannot be assumed to remain the same across societies even if similar situations are present. As Wilson (1971, 69) states: "definitions of situations and actions are not explicitly or implicitly assumed to be settled once and for all". In my own research I used both reflexivity and the philosophical approach of phenomenology to get beyond the everyday social interaction of respondents, and to see their lifeworlds afresh.

Theoretically I believe that there is a complementarity of research approaches and analyses in my study: I have investigated sense of place from several angles using multiple methodologies. Eyles (1988b, 2) calls this research approach "methodological pluralism", noting that it has become more common in sociology in the past fifteen years, and that it is beginning to be practised in human geography. As long as methodologies can be integrated at the philosophical level, then their integration may be defended (see Palm, 1986). I have used different approaches within a holistic framework to balance the deficiencies of each methodology, and thereby highlight each one's strengths.

Phenomenological thinking, through intentionality, is concerned with how phenomena are constituted by people holding things in reflection (see Pickles, 1988, 245-247). The more typical view among rational academics is the "natural attitude". This attitude is based on the premise that "mundane objects exist in themselves in such a way as to be strictly transcendent to our consciousness of them" (Casey in Pickles, 238). Attempting to be completely phenomenological in one's thinking, though, is very difficult. Most academics are trained to think in a Western way, and to view the world objectively.

In my research I tried to be phenomenological in three major ways: through being aware of intentionality, to see how sense of place was being constituted by respondents; through keeping an open, enquiring mind during fieldwork and analyses; and by not forcing an abstract theory on my respondents through my research design. Being presuppositionless, however, was found to be both impossible and antithetical to academic research. Previous research on sense of place had to be assessed to know how I could contribute new insights on the topic and to develop my research design. Any research design is based inherently on presuppositions, although an open mind is necessary to see whether assumptions hold true in the field. The use of abstractions was also essential in conceptualizing both academic literature and my results.

Further, I found that dualism and hierarchical, compartmentalized, linear ways of thinking are inherent to my own thought processes, and can be used in the appraisal of data, although these ways should not dominate one's approach when a humanistic topic such as sense of place is under consideration. Dualism was helpful through dialectics (e.g. home and away; Maori and pakeha) to compare concepts or subsets of data. Hierarchies, typologies and linear flows became apparent in my appraisal of case study data, but divisions are still artificial in an experiential sense. And so, to be totally phenomenological, as described by phenomenological philosophers, was both impractical and almost impossible.

Similarly, there were limits to my ability to learn an indigenous people's way of thinking and their cosmology in only three years. To learn the subtleties of their lifeworlds would require many years of learning and investigation, and I would probably never entirely see the world from their perspective. However, some of the major principles of their way of thinking and cosmology can become apparent if one is dedicated, sensitive, and helped by sincere culture members who know both worlds, modern and indigenous. Ethnographic methods helped to bridge the gap in my learning, as I gained much knowledge when Maori respondents' own beliefs were solicited from their points of view.

It could be argued that, because I had derived data from quite different ontologies (i.e. from the phenomenological and from indigenous people), my database cannot be assessed as a "whole". Through my own thinking and that of my respondents and advisors, research findings concerning the topic - sense of place - have been integrated into an interpretative,

academic meaning framework. This is a common strategy in ethnographic research to make sense of data from different world views (see Agar, 1980; Frake, 1983). Phenomenological and indigenous thoughts are subsumed under this umbrella.

Problems of transference of meaning from one world view to another were dealt with by conversing with knowledgeable culture members, Maori and pakeha, about my research. I confirmed my results with many of my respondents as well, thus ensuring that I had correctly understood the meaning of their remarks in an academic context. The "whole" meaning of respondents' remarks has also been kept intact through the use of excerpts from interviews, instead of relying on a distillation of their views in my own words.

In an epistemological sense this procedure can be validated personally: theory that integrates other views gives a more complete view of the topic, although this may extend a reader's insights further than anticipated. Strict phenomenologists only review knowledge from other phenomenologically-derived studies; interactionists are bounded by the context of a case study. I view these two positions as unduly restrictive, however. Statistical results have also been integrated into an epistemological framework of meaning that is based on qualitative analyses, as tied to the context of my case study.

Eyles (1988b, 2) believes that "disciplinary development must be based on empirical investigation of concrete reality . . . in and on specific localities". A researcher who uses methodological pluralism, recognizing the "strengths and weaknesses of different methods" (Eyles, 2), is better able to study a topic whose "theories and methods are weak" (such as is the case in the topic sense of place), avoiding the pitfall by which explanation is "likely to be attributable to the approach, which is analysed [by academics] in terms of its ideological stance [alone]" (Bernstein in Eyles, 2).

My research design has ensured that sense of place is assessed from both intensive (case studies of individuals and of small groups) and extensive (social surveys of traits across a large, representative sample of respondents) research positions (see Sayer and Morgan in Eyles, 1988b, 4). If my research was a typical exercise in humanistic geography, it would begin with individuality in respondents' views on sense of place, and end with comparing my results with the academic literature (Johnston, 1988b, 190-192). However, due to my application of social surveys to multiple groups of fairly different respondents, patterns became



apparent in analyses of respondents' data. A theory of sense of place thus began to develop naturally during my fieldwork. When my results were compared with the academic literature on the topic, and on modern and indigenous peoples in general, that theory developed further.

This theory development was based on analytical inductions, derived from "small, but very densely textured facts" (Geertz in Eyles, 1988b, 4). Increased ecological validity was achieved in my results, as they are derived from a field setting instead of an experimental one, and directly from respondents to myself in less-structured interviews (see Section 5.2.1). Much of my theory is based on this fieldwork. Thus the theory on sense of place which I outline is:

likely to be less grand than other propositions espoused as theory in geography, e.g. central place theory, laws of migration. This is because theory developed through induction and from thick description is general and contextual. (Eyles, 1988b, 4).

And so, for increased validity, my theory is tied primarily to the context of my case study, Banks Peninsula. However, the theory I propose has also been derived from my knowledge of the national scene in New Zealand, as well as from other academic literature on the topic in general. As such, the theory may have applications beyond its Peninsula origin.

Cross-cultural research on sense of place is invaluable for theory development, since it can help nudge modern researchers toward an awareness of the assumptions inherent in their world views. Phenomenological methods may be used to this end, but I maintain that perspectives such as being away from one's own home; being a stranger to a field setting; and cross-cultural contrasts are more successful in breaking modern preconceptions on sense of place. Once the stranglehold of one's own views on the topic are broken, and new ideas are presented in the form of a theory, one's personal view of life may change as well. As Craib says:

Every time your view of the world shifts, however slightly, you begin to see things you did not see before; the connection between such shifts and action might be obscure but it is nonetheless there . . . theory has its effect at a much more personal level than might at first appear to be the case. (1984, 218).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, 19) believe that the chief purpose of social research should be to develop and test theory; their position can apply to both positivist and interpretative definitions of theory. If theory development also plays some role in humanity's progress, then all the better.

Kalmar and Sternberg (1988, 154-155) adhere to a view that, to develop theory, a "theory knitting" approach is most appropriate, integrating strong features from alternative theories with one's own ideas; they do not believe that the more typical, "segregative" approach, which pits theoretical constructs "against one another in terms of their predictions with regard to empirical data" would be as fruitful in theory development. They review the philosophy of mind as well, noting that those who accept intentionality "tend to view behavior in qualitative terms, inasmuch as it is correspondingly difficult to quantify intentional states"; such people are said to have a different goal in research than those who take a "computational position" and "tend to espouse computational, quantitative models" (162). The former group thus generates explanatory models, while the latter choose predictive models.

However, statistics can be used descriptively to augment phenomenological analyses of data: statistics on their own are not inherently positivistic (Eyles, 1985; Marsh, 1982; see also Section 5.4). A theory knitting approach also has some drawbacks. Kalmar and Sternberg (1988, 165) note that "a poorly knitted theory may more resemble a crazy-quilt than a knitting of theories". They further note that this approach should not be attempted in the initial stages of research, since other theoretical constructs need to have been well developed in order to knit these constructs together: theory development that occurs too early "might be better termed 'speculation' than 'theorisation'" (166).

Because of the wealth of academic material available on sense of place and related concepts, I deemed a theory knitting approach to theory development appropriate for my research project. The goal of my theory is explanation, toward an understanding of sense of place, as tied primarily to my research context. I have considered previous academic research to help base the conceptual structures of my theory; where possible, these sources are cited, but often the structures that I present have arisen from a wide variety of sources. My proposed theory therefore summarizes my most significant case study findings and places them in a wider research context, with both specific findings and generalizations presented. This theory is neither absolute in a law-like, predictive way, nor absolute through time and space, since further research may uncover new findings, and both humans and places themselves gradually change in character over time.

## 12.2 Sense of Place Theory

The theory for sense of place that I propose is based on people's individual relations with their place, as well as contextual effects on those relations. Since families and long-term marriages could be considered entities in themselves, focussing on people as if they had separate senses of place may be inappropriate, especially for indigenous people. I emphasize the relations between things, as opposed to the things themselves, in my theory. Evernden (1985, 133) points out the significance of such a shift in perspective in the following quotations:

... context [is] defined as 'parts that precede or follow a passage and fix its meaning.' That is, the meaning of the main event is set by those around it. It may be viewed in isolation but it cannot be understood in isolation.

If one wishes to understand rather than simply isolate the object of attention, one cannot ignore the relationships entailed. Indeed, one might say that the relationships are the main event, and that we deceive ourselves in concentrating on the beings rather than on the relationship between them. In other words, the context of our lives is constituted by the network of relationships which we are committed to ...

But imagine the effect of reversing the polarity of attention, so to speak, so that the bond of relationship is more significant than the end-points it joins. Regarding the relations as primary is like reversing figure and ground, like stressing Being over beings. But to do so is to make a considerable leap ...

Viewed in this way, an individual is not a thing at all, but a sequence of ways of relating: a panorama of views of the world. Concentration on those relationships, and on relationship in general, clearly constitutes a substantial alteration in our way of understanding the individual.

The phenomenological concept of intentionality sees things held in consciousness as constituting a whole phenomenon; relations between things are used as well in semiotics - the study of signs or general meanings - to determine meanings of ideas in context, especially in the interpretation of myths and novels (see Craib, 1985, 113-115).

My theory draws out the importance of context, both socially and environmentally, in the development of a sense of place. After many years in a place a person tends to feel part of the place, like a "native", being just as much at home there as other biological organisms; one's place may even affect one's physiology through climate, topography and typical foodstuffs, although physical geography effects are diminished in urban environments.

Having more connections to a place builds a deeper sense of place, similar to that which occurs between mates in human relationships. As more strands are added to the web, the web grows stronger. The material presented in this section will illustrate both the numbers of

connections that are possible, individually and contextually, and the effect on sense of place when there are more connections to place. Because sense of place develops in a gestalt manner, whole realms will be presented as major building blocks of theory, as will components of those realms. Where possible, major factors influencing sense of place are identified, but it must be remembered that these also interact with each other.

To aid in the conceptualization of the many components of sense of place theory, Figure 12-1 has been included. Five major themes are presented in that figure: related concepts; individual influences on the development of sense of place; contextual influences; Maori sense of place; and resultant effects of developing/losing a sense of place. Only the major concepts are presented; potentially negative influences and results are represented by dashed lines. These themes are dealt with in sequence in the following discussion. Although resultant effects from the development/loss of a sense of place hold true cross-culturally, Maori sense of place is more holistic in character. And so, it is bounded by an ellipse in the figure. It is also more difficult to separate out the cultural influences which affect the development of indigenous people's sense of place.

Sense of place will be bracketed among other related concepts in the first sub-section to demonstrate its character. It will not be defined *per se* because of its complexity and because a whole view would be lost, but my conception of sense of place will conclude that sub-section. The next four sub-sections will cover the development (and loss) of sense of place, from both an individual and a contextual point of view; cross-cultural perspectives (modern/indigenous) on sense of place; the result of having (or not having) a well-developed sense of place; and typologies that can be used to categorize people's sense of place.

Exceptions to the development of a sense of place are noted where applicable. Differences owing to gender and culture (modern/indigenous) are also pointed out. Authors of segments of my theory are cited where possible. As a final note, it should be remembered that each person is unique, that people may be inconsistent at times, and that people change as they mature and go through life experiences. Because of this, my theory can only present guiding principles, not absolute certainties.

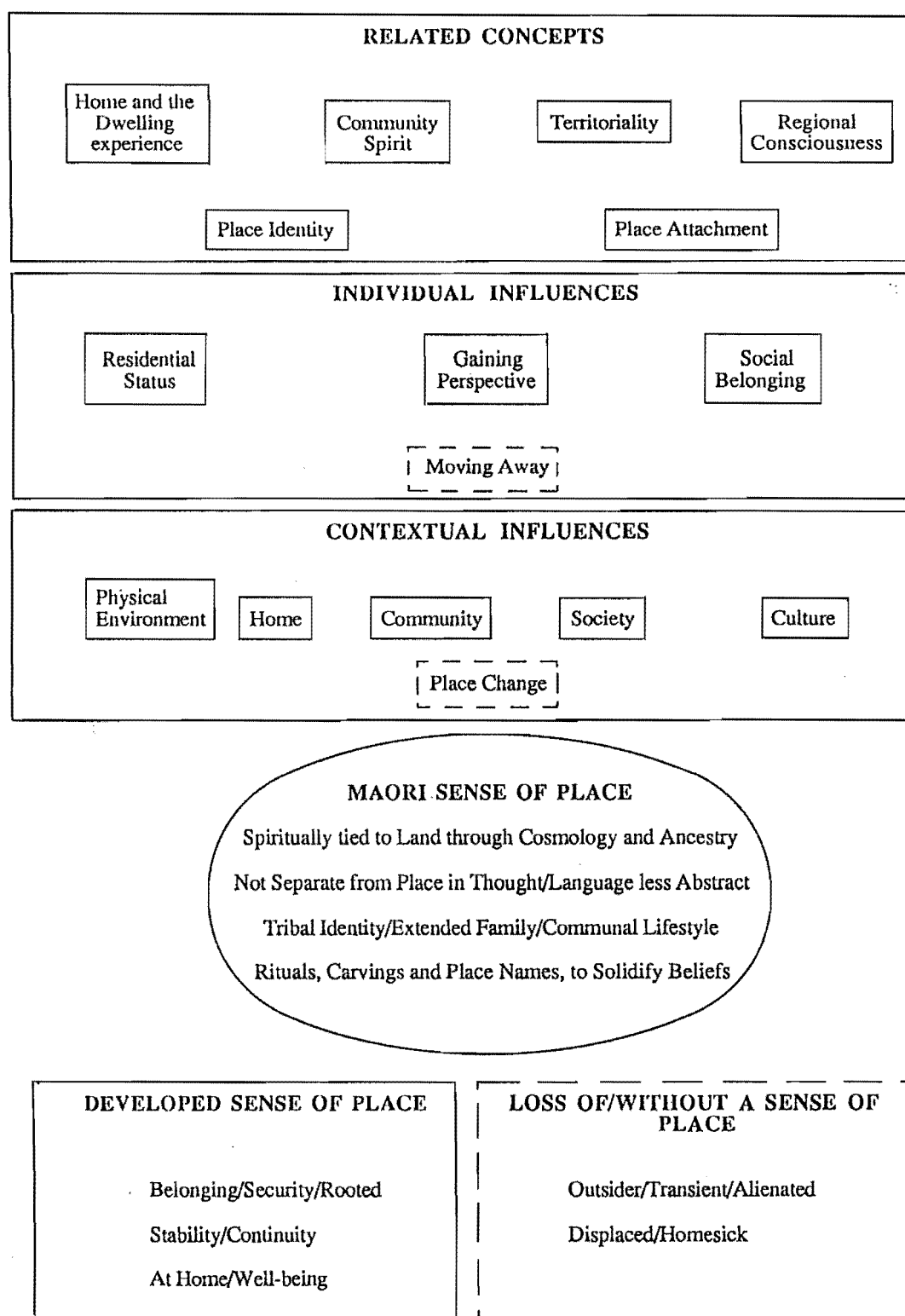


Figure 12-1: Sense of place: A theoretical overview.

### 12.2.1 Bracketing the Phenomenon

Bracketing sense of place involves the eidetic method in phenomenology, in which the essential elements of a phenomenon are separated from the accidental in empirical relationships (Pickles, 1988, 246). The relationship of closely allied concepts to the phenomenon can also be made clear through this procedure. The most closely related concepts to sense of place are home (and the dwelling experience); territoriality; community spirit; regional consciousness; place identity; and place attachment. These concepts will be reviewed in turn to begin to outline the character of sense of place.

Being "at home" in a place comes about through a feeling of "dwelling"; among modern peoples their home is normally a safe haven, and their last bastion of privacy in a socially-intrusive world. Home is thus strongly connected to a modern sense of place, especially for urban residents and women. The decor of a home reflects the character of individuals and/or a family; the home environment is thus part of oneself, helping to mould identity. However, urbanites often interact less with their neighbours, and are not immersed in nature. They live individual lives, shifting themselves and their nuclear families from place to place for work or education. As such they have fewer connections to their place, and tend to develop a shallower sense of place that is egocentric (i.e. self-oriented).

Sense of place also has an areal connotation, beyond the private realm. The social territory of people helps define the spatial extent of their sense of place. The size of this territory can vary depending on the social group being considered (e.g. community, city, region and nation). A topographical basin or an island of small size gives identity to a group's place bounds, reinforcing territorial feelings. Through repeated experience in a small region, people become intimately familiar with their surroundings, and develop insider feelings. Men play the role of defending their place against hostile intruders, while all residents join in opposition to unsolicited place developments, as in economic or population change, with particular resistance to immigration often the case, as such people are seen as complete outsiders.

Community spirit is most visible in the defence of place or in the offering of help in crisis. A strong community helps build a sense of place, and long-term residents who are involved in a community help build community spirit. People want to live in a good

community, even in the face of economic decline. Those who move away often keep in touch with their former community, and have nostalgic thoughts about it for many years afterwards. A sense of community is thus allied to a sense of place, but the latter is more of a personal experience, with people also able to make personal choices about moving away, whereas the former is based on a group identity.

People's lived experience within a localized "action space" affects the development of place identity: they exhibit a regional consciousness after many years of residence, developing similar traits to others in their region. Personal places within their region also become part of their self identities; those who lose a home or are displaced to other regions realize how much place identity is part of themselves. Place identity is described from an individual point of view in the academic literature (see Proshansky et al, 1983), though, without enough emphasis on a person's context in his or her place.

To more fully understand what having a sense of place entails, a description of place attachment is also useful. Through long residence and social involvement in a place a person can feel that he or she "belongs" there: such people are strongly attached to their place, and have been called "place people" by Steele (1981). There are other people who have a history of mobility which tends to work against the development of strong ties to any one place (see Taylor and Townsend, 1976).

Shortly after moving to a place people normally feel disoriented and homesick, but over a span of time they may develop weak place ties. For the first few years they frequently compare the place they are in to previous places. However, if they have a history of mobility, after a few months or years they start thinking of the next place where they will be moving to, and then they often leave. Academics have not given enough attention to those who leave, and have under-emphasized people's place and social context in studies of place attachment: the physical distinctiveness of the place; the nature of the community; the localized ancestry of the inhabitants; and economic influences which affect whether people remain in their place or not have seldom been at issue.

And so, these latter two concepts - place identity and attachment - are inadequate for a complete description of sense of place. The true nature of the phenomenon "sense of place" begins to surface through an examination of related concepts, but a conception of sense of

place itself is warranted, as different people often view sense of place in different ways. Based on what I wrote in Chapter 3 and the results from my case study, sense of place is now much clearer in my mind. I will now share my conception of it.

Sense of place as a phenomenon involves the meaningful relationship between person and place. Included as part of that relationship is an intensity of feeling and an aesthetic appreciation of the place. The social position of a person, as in one's "place" in society, can be integral to sense of place if that aspect is important to that person. Sense of place develops most strongly among "place people" who are orientated to forming place ties and roots in a place; "non-place people" have a more instrumental relationship with place, and may prefer an adventurer's life instead, moving from place to place (see also Steele, 1981).

Among modern people, sense of place is an individually-based but group-informed, place-specific, personal means of relating to the world. Both sensing and bonding elements are involved in its development at the individual level. However, many senses of place are more based on the union of man and woman, or family-based, than are based on the individual alone. A person's sense of place is strongly influenced by several contexts, including not only the family and home, but also the community or neighbourhood; physical environment; region (e.g. economy and regional consciousness); society; and culture. Indigenous people characteristically lack a conscious separation between person and world; have a sacred instead of an abstract conception of space; have a group identity; and are linked to their place through tribal heritage and cosmology.

Association with a place has a profound effect, with a person normally feeling part of the place after several years of residence. Social belonging is also important to the development of sense of place. Modern people usually gain perspective on their place feelings by moving away for a period of time, as in displacement and homesickness, while indigenous people most often realize the depth of their sense of place through cultural rituals. Both indigenous and rural (modern) peoples also develop stronger ties to their place through localized ancestry, with attitudes toward their place passed through the generations (e.g. from father to son). Sense of place need not be positive in its effects: it can be used to oppress people of lower social classes or different minority groups. A person may also feel "trapped" within the place that he or she lives.



Because there are such different ways of developing a sense of place among people, there are varying opinions on the relative strength of sense of place. I maintain that it becomes strongest among people who have localized ancestry, and who have been raised in a place, living there for many decades. It is even stronger among indigenous people, as their cosmology links them to their place: they cannot just "sell" their place and move to another district without experiencing a feeling of great personal loss, as their very spirit has been affected.

Thus a person may tell me that he or she has a strong sense of place, simply because that person has a romantic vision of an area where they have spent a few short years; my wider perspective on the subject makes me think that such affection is not as important to sense of place as the deeply rooted feelings of a long-term resident, especially if that resident is an indigenous person residing in his or her tribal homeland. The romantic view is more of a transitory attitude which may come and go; sense of place which is rooted in one locale is, however, part of a person's entire being, and makes up a large part of his or her life.

My conception of sense of place will become clearer as different aspects of it are detailed in the next four sub-sections. Indeed, sense of place becomes more visible as a phenomenon when a dynamic view of it is used, as in when its development is considered.

#### 12.2.2 The Development (and Loss) of Sense of Place

Sense of place develops in people through personal choices (as in place and non-place people); small group effects (from family and one's mate); larger contextual effects (community, society, culture and place); and generally as people age and mature in one place. In my Banks Peninsula case study I used the concepts of feeling like an "insider"; the importance of localized ancestry; motivation to remain in the place; and place attachment to describe respondents' sense of place (see Chapter 8). Insider status is more difficult to attain by transients, many of whom do not want to remain in the place anyway, and among women who have married into a Peninsula family. The insider status and social position of some residents is therefore often used to block, partially or totally - and not always intentionally - the development of sense of place among other (new) residents.

The social position of insiders did not affect immigrants as much, as such respondents have more independence, both socially and economically. Among pakeha (of foreign or New

Zealand origin) who had moved on to the Peninsula, most new residents expressed a strong affection for their place, but did not yet have a fully developed sense of place. This was especially true among immigrants, who had stronger feelings for their local place than for the region or nation.

If New Zealand pakeha had lived in their place for more than half a lifetime, they often achieved a similar insider status as those who were raised there, together with a strong sense of place. In contrast, holiday home owners and long-term campers only had a partial sense of place for the Peninsula, as they lived there part-time due to their cyclical migrations between home and Peninsula. As such, they had some fond feelings for the Peninsula, which they saw as a recreational playground and leisure centre.

Residential status, gained through being raised in a place and from localized ancestry, and social belonging - achieved through community involvement and a kin/friend social network - were thus found to be very important from an individual point of view in the development of a sense of place. Gaining perspective on one's place feelings, especially through living away, also helps in that development; many Peninsula respondents had moved back there due to their feelings of homesickness. They missed both special places and people, as well as the general way of life. A feeling of stability - often attained through long residence in one region, ownership of a home, and personal happiness - helps in the development of sense of place, whereas a history of mobility works against that development (Taylor and Townsend, 1976). Thus there are several individual influences on the development of sense of place.

I wrote in Chapter 9 that general stages of development of sense of place can be identified. These include the stages of "embryonic", for children and new residents; "commitment", for adult, long-term residents motivated to remain in their place; and "culmination", for elderly residents who have lived most of their lives in one place. Figure 9-1 shows the increasing development of sense of place among individuals of different cultures, Maori and pakeha.

Influences from the physical environment, home, community, society and culture were considered also to be essential in the development of sense of place, but more from a contextual viewpoint. Strong relations between a person and his or her context shows that an individual

is not an isolated entity. The contexts of home and community have already been partially discussed in the previous sub-section. Development-oriented points concerning sense of place will be made here. The physical environment and society are then discussed; the cultural context is covered in the next sub-section.

A place's qualities imprint on a person through being raised there, as do positive feelings for "home", especially if a dwelling experience is part of that home life. During one's formative years there is also a passing of beliefs about place feelings from parent(s) to child. If a family has ancestry in the place, stronger feelings of rootedness and stability are highly probable. Such families may be further up the social scale in a place; their children are more apt to carry on that status, and other residents may be affected through both the creation of place and the exclusion of outsiders.

The physical environment also affects sense of place, in that it can be a benign area for habitation, both in climate and in having ample foodstuffs available. If the place has distinctive features and natural topographical boundaries in a regional sense, then it may be liked more and be more recognizable; such judgements about the beauty and economically-desirable qualities of a place are often culturally derived. The place may also have a robust economy, enabling residents (and their grown children) to continue to live there. Proximity to direct urban influences - of a social or economic nature - is an issue for rural dwellers, since they may be tempted to leave their country homes in an urban drift of population.

The cultural landscape is a reflection of both the physical environment and societal heritage, and can influence the development of sense of place if it is distinctive. A society can also influence sense of place by placing a larger or smaller emphasis on the importance of a person developing a sense of place for his or her own place; some societies laud the development of rootedness, while others attach more importance to personal mobility. Also, some societies have been in place for a longer period of time, and thus have more stability and a feeling of heritage (e.g. in Indonesia and China); other societies, such as in North America, are younger and more orientated to rapid place change, which can erode a sense of place (see Hay, 1986; Porteous, 1989). Finally, some behavioural traits influence sense of place, as in displays of territoriality versus welcoming outsiders; nationalist pride as opposed to a more

humble disposition; and unwarranted stereotyping by race, social class, and religion versus a more tolerant view.

Uniformity of design, in building design and layout (see Relph, 1976); and moving away can also adversely affect sense of place in their own ways. Rapid place change is characteristic to much of modern society, and in that change uniformity often replaces unique buildings and landscapes with placelessness. Thus the symbolism of places is affected, as are memories and even identity which were linked to those special places; uniformity of design replaces localized symbolism with that of the masses: national ties may arise from such a change, but there is nothing unique left in a place that has been made placeless to form and maintain a local sense of place (see Meyrowitz, 1985).

Some societies are much more mobile than others. Studies of out-migrants show that nostalgic feelings for former places are common (see Glendining, 1978), and that there is seldom a total loss of such feelings. A modern view holds that a place can be owned; thus when it is sold, if a person has lived away from his or her former place for some time, place feelings for that place can disappear entirely, especially if no close friends or family still live there. This occurs most frequently among people (and sometimes whole societies) who have a more instrumental view of place, as in a "means to an end" (see Eyles, 1985, 124), and among people who are temporarily resident in a place. "Non-place" people (Steele, 1981) may also view places as commodities, or only as the locus where their social lives "take place".

These four contexts, home, community, physical environment, and society, therefore all have significant effects on the development of sense of place. A person's culture often has an even larger effect, however, although this is seldom recognized by culture members, who instead simply live within their cultural context.

### 12.2.3 Cross-cultural Perspectives on Sense of Place

In a cultural appraisal of contextual effects on sense of place, indigenous peoples are much more heavily influenced by their culture than are modern people, since modern cultures, particularly Western, English-speaking ones, are not as identifiable, with few rituals that are directly linked in members' minds to the maintenance of their culture. Because of my knowledge of Maori culture, its effects on sense of place are used to substantiate my

comments. Reference can be made to material in Chapters 1 and 11 to base my broader, cross-cultural views.

In my case study, Maori respondents who are still connected with their traditional culture were found to have a sense of place which does not separate person and world. They are immersed in their world, and totally part of their place, even when they are physically distant from it. Their sense of time is more unified, in that divisions between past/present/future are not as definite as they are with modern people.

For Maori their *marae* is their home ground (*papa kainga*), and their *turangawaewae* is their "place to stand". Because of Maori cosmology and links with *whanau/hapuliwi*, there is little individualism in their group-centered and place-centered lives. They have many rituals through which to practise their culture, and to connect themselves experientially to their place through dynamic action and spiritual beliefs. These rituals are part of *tangi*, *hui*, and *powhiri* on the *marae*. On the other hand, modern people's way of thinking displays dualism, in that they often split themselves away from their place, perceiving themselves to be separate from it.

Because of Maori cosmology, their "place" is made tangible on Earth: legends and spirituality give them a spiritual context that is linked to the physical context of a *marae* and tribe. This context has not just spatial dimensions, but symbolic and temporal ones as well, since the tribe's past may span many centuries or even millenia, and is displayed through the *whare whakairo*'s carved design. Many other forms of carving convey tribal symbolism as well (e.g. on weapons, canoes, implements, and faces), as do place names and tribal legends. There is also a feeling of ancestors being present in and around the *marae*.

As such, they have that many more connections to place than modern people, from which to develop a more deeply rooted sense of place. In contrast, modern people's monotheistic religions seldom tie them directly to their place. Those modern people with solely secular beliefs typically have a more instrumental, utilitarian view of place, without any spiritual connection to it (see Drengson, 1983).

However, both modern and indigenous people can develop a strong sense of place. Among the former group, ties to home and its environs are most common, with long residence promoting sense of place. If localized ancestry is also present, then that sense of place tends to deepen. Among indigenous peoples, tribal heritage is paramount, as are cosmological

connections to place, with rituals used to maintain sense of place. These peoples normally have a group-centered bond to place, rather than a personal bond, found more commonly among modern, urban peoples. Indigenous peoples who maintain a traditional lifestyle also are linked to their place through local resource use that is in rhythm with seasonal changes in nature. However, such peoples who have been subjected to rapid modernization often have suffered ill effects on both their culture and sense of place: Maori who are totally urbanized, modernized and Westernized are said by *kaumatua* to have lost their *mauri* (soul)

Modern, urban people prefer to exercise their individual choice in whether to remain in a place or not, and are usually more mobile as a result of this choice and their way of life, moving often from place to place. It is only in displacement that modern people momentarily realize the full extent of their context in place, and that they are not individuals, set apart from the physical and social world. They may also realize how weak their sense of place is, and the importance of developing rootedness in one place. Indigenous people, though, are so much part of their place that they do not leave it spiritually when their physical bodies are in a distant locale.

There are so-called "non-place people" in modern society who (apparently) have no place ties, yet are not alienated, having an instrumental view toward their place or being adventurers instead (see Eyles, 1985; Steele, 1981). I maintain that this is an unnatural condition for humans. We each need a place to call our own, to feel connected with the earth and with like-minded people. Our biological make-up adapts us to one biophysical region; our tribal orientation makes us want to bond to people and places to protect resources and to resist the intrusion of outsiders; our psychological strength lies feelings of security and belonging, as linked to one small part of the earth which has become familiar through long inhabitation. The passage of characteristics through the generations, both behaviourally and perhaps through genetics, tends to maintain a strong sense of place among those peoples who have found value in this important aspect of human life on earth.

The result of having a sense of place is discussed further in the next sub-section, and is contrasted by the alienation that one may feel if sense of place is lacking.

#### 12.2.4 The Result of Having (or not Having) a Sense of Place

Many results of having or not having a sense of place have already been discussed in previous sub-sections; and so, only a brief summary is included here. Sense of place is the result within a person - and sometimes within a group of similar persons (e.g. a family or tribe) - of the development processes described above. People with a strong sense of place often feel secure and stable in their place. Other characteristics may be apparent as well. Some of these can have negative attributes, adversely influencing other people's development of a strong sense of place and restricting insiders' movements in various ways. For example, street gangs, zoning bylaws and stereotyping are all commonly used by insiders to block newcomers from developing a sense of place. Those who live within a place might also feel trapped there, and may maintain overly-conservative and/or ruthless traditions.

However, people without a sense of place for any place display a set of characteristics which are seldom beneficial, to themselves or others. Feelings of being a stranger (see Tuan, 1986), an outsider, and a transient through a place are not often thought of as positive. When a person is uprooted, he or she can feel lost, threatened and homesick in a new place. In a foreign culture there is culture shock; in a person's own culture there can be feelings of alienation if one has no solid ties to place and people.

An exception to the ill effects of a transient lifestyle is the "adventurer" who appears to be happy roaming the world, not wanting place ties. There are also those (modern) people who have a more functional attitude toward their place, seeing their place as a means towards an end. It is unlikely, though, that a completely apathetic view of place can be attained without concomitant feelings of alienation (see also Eyles, 1985).

Additional resultant effects from attaining a sense of place were introduced previously, such as a spatial extent to one's sense of place, centered on the home among modern people; a similarity with other long-term residents in a region (regional consciousness); and territoriality, with "insiders" banding together at times in the territorial defence of place. Juxtaposed with these developments is placelessness, which can erode sense of place through place change. Rapid modernization can also cause a sense of rootlessness among indigenous people.

And so, sense of place has a multitude of effects on our lives, all of which may not be beneficial. Without a sense of place, however, a person may suffer ill effects, and not be able to function as well in life.

#### 12.2.5 Alternative Typologies for Sense of Place

To demonstrate the different stages of development of sense of place, I have devised a number of alternative typologies. Types of sense of place can also be used to separate disparate clusters of people. Eyles (1985, 129) notes that "ideal-types are only successful insofar as they deal with everyday life as it appears to those who live it". Typification needs also to be tied to explanation to be of use.

In previous chapters I have explained some of the typologies presented below; others are explained at this point. It should be remembered that people change through time, and thus may change categories in a typology. Also, some people fit a number of categories, or are more inconsistent in their behaviour. And so, while the assignment to ideal-types may aid in theoretical development, such categorization is very generalized and not final. The perspective of researcher rather than researched is too often taken in such categorization as well, although I have tried to avoid this bias by linking typologies - except the most general - to empirical research.

Some typologies for sense of place are conceptual in character, and are of a very general nature, such as the "insider/outsider" split; differences between indigenous, rural and (modern) urban peoples; and broad stages in the development of sense of place (embryonic, commitment and culmination phases, outlined earlier in 12.2.2).

Other typologies have been derived from empirical research by Eyles (1985) and myself. Eyles developed ten categories, based on both lifestyle and types of sense of place, to separate disparate clusters of respondents. Four of his categories were more commonly represented: social; nostalgic (memories of the place); instrumental; and apathetic-acquiescent (no sense of place). I outlined five types of respondents in my case study based on development of sense of place (see Fig. 9-1); an additional type is the out-migrant.

Typologies can be developed based on people's prime orientation in place (e.g. toward recreation, work, home, community etc.) and by their way of life and the values associated with it (e.g. farm, urban, small community, indigenous). I have also devised a more general



scale of sense of place development, which arose from reflection on my case study, showing a growing development from few ties to place, to a personal attachment to place, rootedness in a place, and a cultural tie to place (see Fig. 12-2).

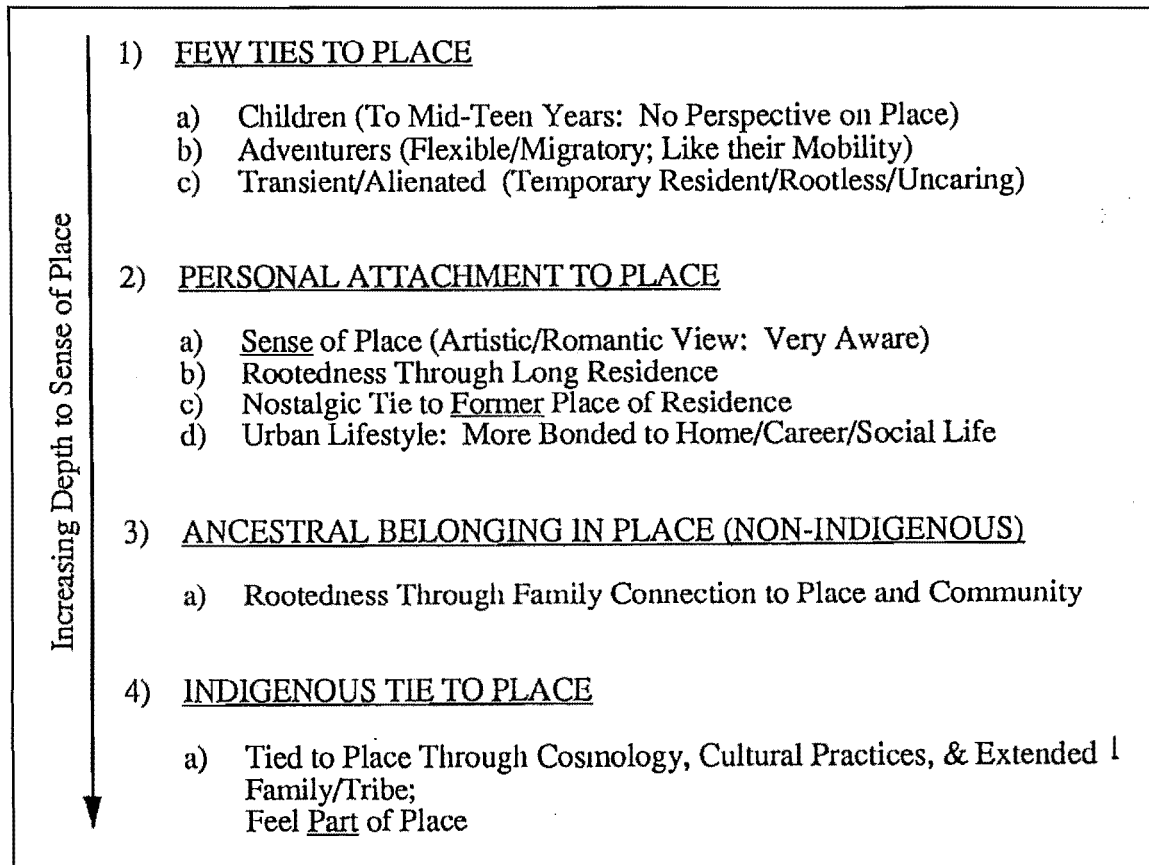


Figure 12-2: A generalized scale of sense of place development.

The typology shown in Figure 12-2 is based on development, and covers the diversity of forms of a human sense of place (or lack of it). There is little transfer out of categories from less development to greater development in the scale, except for modern children (upwards by one or two categories) or out-migrants (downwards by one or two categories). The "indigenous tie to place" category is also useful for traditional peoples who have a clan structure; a community-based way of life; and a localized ancestry that spans centuries, as in peoples from parts of India or Europe.

My final figure also helps to summarize sense of place theory. Figure 12-2 helps to show that sense of place may develop quite differently among peoples of different ages,

orientations, lifestyles and cultures. Those with few ties to place may also be contrasted with indigenous peoples, and a more personal attachment to place can be put into perspective by the ancestral belonging in place of people with localized ancestry.

In the presentation of theory I have covered my conception of sense of place among related concepts; the development of sense of place; cross-cultural perspectives on sense of place; the result of having/not having a sense of place; and alternative typologies. Further research with a diversity of people, however, is needed to flesh out sense of place theory. Several research directions, both toward this end and toward the application of sense of place theory, are discussed in the next section.

### 12.3 Research Directions

There are several research directions that can help to extend sense of place theory. A combination of methodologies could be used in research design, or a particular methodology could be used alone, as long as the limitations of the latter approach are clearly identified. Feminist researchers could investigate parallels between gender relationships and place relationships, in either conceptual or empirical studies. Researchers of indigenous peoples, though, should be aware that feminism is not individually-based among such peoples, as they have a group identity.

One option is for a geographer to live with an indigenous tribe for a number of years, to learn its language, customs and cosmology thoroughly. Such a researcher could then see how tribal members perceive their place, as tied to their cosmology, and contrast this with modern ways of perception. A linguistic study of tribal language can also be contrasted with that of modern peoples, to show how perceptual views of reality are interwoven into forms of communication. Similar contrasts could be made between the customs and beliefs of these two groups.

This, of course, has already been done by anthropologists and linguists, but there was less of a human geography emphasis in previous studies, particularly with respect to sense of place. Topics such as environmental perception, territorial feelings for a region, place attachment, and sense of place are all very geographical in character, and an in-depth study of an indigenous people which was contrasted with the modern way of life - taking both groups'

belief systems and language into account - could help to develop our knowledge on sense of place.

A few studies can be done to cover a longer time span, in order to note changes in places and their peoples' sense of place across a span of decades. Further empirical research can also be conducted among urban peoples to describe their sense of place, especially for a diversity of groups living in large, multi-cultural cities. Political considerations can be investigated as well, since inappropriate economic development and/or population change can radically alter the nature of a place and affect local residents' sense of place. Some researchers may choose to investigate the policy and regulatory influences on such changes. Others may wish to look into the manifestations of a strong sense of place, such as when people oppose insensitive development in their own place, or in other people's places.

Applications of sense of place theory can be researched more thoroughly too, now that a wider theoretical foundation has been established, based on empirical research. There are implications for place design, education and tourism which could interest architects, planners, educators and developers alike. The design of places to promote a dwelling experience can be further investigated, beyond what Alexander (1977) has presented (see also Dovey, 1984; Norberg-Schulz, 1981, 1985; Violich, 1983). Buildings of historical significance could also be preserved to aid in the retention of sense of place among inhabitants (see Datel and Dingemans, 1984).

Educators can devise modules which concentrate on people's own places, instead of always teaching about distant places (see Langeran, 1986; Lutts, 1985), including in these modules a discussion of such items as localized ancestry; community spirit; the cultural landscape and its symbolism; ecology; and sense of place. This is already being done to some extent, but sense of place and community spirit - as based on the local place in which the school or college is situated - are often not topics of discussion.

Tourist facilities can also be developed to give more of an authentic experience of place to visitors from an insider's viewpoint (see MacCannell, 1976, 96-98). A distinction between "tourists" and "travellers" can be made in this regard, with the former wanting consumer-oriented holidays, and the latter desiring to experience a country/place from the inside (see Shepard, 1967). Homestay holidays, guided tours hosted by knowledgeable insiders, and

prolonged visits with a tribe in its homeland are some of the ways in which travellers' experiential orientations could be accommodated.

And so, there is a myriad of research directions available. It is hoped that some of these will be followed up in the near future, and that academics will periodically revise and update sense of place theory in light of new empirical and conceptual research findings.

#### 12.4 Conclusion

Since the middle of this century, urbanization has increased dramatically. The Earth's urban population in 1920 was 360 million (out of about 2 billion people). By the year 2000 the Earth's urban population is predicted to reach almost 3 billion, of which two-thirds will live in cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants: over one-half of the Earth's 6 billion inhabitants will then live in urban centres (Hillary, 1984, 17-19; Myers, 1987, 212-213). Because of this urbanization, a modern perspective is used in my concluding remarks to note the significance of changes in our sense of place from our tribal past.

Many communities which were situated on the urban fringe of large cities have been swallowed up. Others have lost members through the urban drift of young adults, skilled workers and farm labourers who have been replaced by machines. People worldwide are dominated by the economies of large cities, often thousands of miles away, and urban regions may affect their environment through industrial pollutants. Small communities are also bombarded by urban values via the multi-media and the promotion of consumer goods, reducing their uniqueness (Meyrowitz, 1985; Relph, 1976).

The world has also become a smaller place through advances in transportation and communications. New Zealand is situated in a remote corner of the globe, surrounded on all sides by 2000 kilometers or more of ocean. Yet here in these far-flung islands one can watch satellite television transmissions, receive long-distance telephone calls and fax messages, and be linked with computers in distant continents. New Zealanders pride themselves on being well-informed, through such means as overseas experience and a high readership rate of library books. Indeed, the national news has the largest television audience of any programme. And so, it seems that it is difficult to "just live" in any place now in blissful ignorance. The intrusion of mass communications has made us well informed, but it has also made it difficult

to develop a local sense of place easily in such a milieu: we are internalizing the values of modern society through our multi-media.

As we enter the 1990s, we are supposed to be "new age" people: feminists tell us that patriarchy should be abolished; Marxists exhort the lower classes and visible minorities to throw off their oppression, and remind us that capitalism has enslaved both the Third World and many people in developed countries (as labourers, or wage-slaves); while environmentalists desire international co-operation - instead of nationalism - on global issues, and constantly preach that our modern lifestyle is causing problems to personal health and the health of the Earth's environment. Even phenomenologists point toward the philosophical inappropriateness of separating person and world in our thoughts. The naive innocence, characteristic of Western peoples in the 1950s and early 1960s, feels a long way away in this age of instant communications and multiple moral causes.

In such an atmosphere modern people still try to develop bonds to their place, to give them stability and solace. Yet a modern way of life tends to diminish connections with nuclear and extended family, community and nature, and thus erodes people's ability to develop a deep sense of place. Modern people, according to Samuels (1981), are alienated from their place through the dualism of their thoughts, and need to consciously "enter into relation" with their place to overcome that alienation. Tuan (1982) maintains that such people lead segmented lives, and require a sense of place to "make sense" of their world. The needs may be there, but the means are retreating at a faster rate each year.

Placelessness has become a more appropriate condition for modern people, and suits the capitalist value system. Nationalism is promoted over a local sense of place, as the former suits the goals of national governments. Multi-national corporations advance internationalism through marketing consumer goods and through international trends in design. Ties to careers and urban centres go hand in hand, as the latter requires the specialist skills inherent in the former, and the lifestyle of cities is preferred by such work-oriented people. Rural, community-based places become merely holiday sites or the loci of romantic, aesthetic feelings for the "country life". And so, for modern people it is now easier to develop more general feelings for a nation and an urban lifestyle, or more individual feelings for a home or career, than to develop a deeply rooted sense of place gradually in one rural locality or region.

As such, modern people are often less concerned about the wider ramifications of their individual actions, as they are not responsible to any one community or region where they are well known and where they have a personal stake in the health of that region's ecology. They can instead be anonymous in large cities, and can move away if they do not like the increasing pollution in their place. There is little sense of heritage in one place to tie them there. Such a modern value system has allowed us to gain by being more "free" as individuals. However, without a cosmological basis to our value system, this freedom has been translated into a ruination of both the Earth and ourselves in the pursuit of material goods for selfish, conspicuous consumption.

Indigenous peoples who have retained the core of their traditional cultural ways have cosmologies that tie them to a place of ancestral heritage through a system of beliefs, formalized in various rituals. Their extended family and tribe enwrap them in a group identity; their place has become part of themselves, to be both respected and loved. Some of the characteristics of indigenous peoples have parallels in traditional rural dwellers, through community spirit and events, kinship connections, and a feeling of stewardship toward the land (see Marsh, 1988).

Urbanization has changed the nature of community life, however, and is rapidly changing many beloved places. Replacing communities with urban neighbourhoods has not been very successful, since the latter often lack distinctive boundaries; have little cohesiveness and few focal points; have reduced interaction between their members; and are too much a part of the overall urban way of life. Urbanism tends to promote mobility within the local region and migration from local to international scales. A shallower sense of place (similar to "liking" a place), with little belonging engendered in a particular place, seems to fit the superficialities and transience of modern living (Hay, 1989).

Despite the apparent erosion of sense of place in modern society, a form of attachment is retained, demonstrating the importance of bonds to some place or group in one's life. Many modern people are still tribal in different ways, whether toward a "home team" in sports, or in their own home or workplace (see Marsh, 1988). Most modern people desire at least a semblance of a "home feeling" wherever they may be, both during travels and while in a

permanent residence. They also develop a degree of place attachment, centered on the home, after a few years of residence.

However, the importance of sense of place as integral to lifestyle and value system becomes personally apparent most often to modern people when they are displaced and lose their sense of context. There is a shock when it is fully realized that none of us is an individual, an entity to oneself: we are all part of a network of family and friends; part of a community, neighbourhood, or workplace; part of a culture and a physical environment which we call "home". Individualism, though, is more part of a modern value system than is a contextually-based sense of place: the former is exalted, while the latter is largely ignored. Ironically, it seems that many people without a sense of place are quite able to cope and prosper in an urban world. This assessment, though, may be superficial, and does not demonstrate the full value of cultivating a deep sense of place.

The direction of modern society may be toward "future shock" (Toffler, 1970), where we will always live within a rapidly changing world - not quite keeping up with changes - while feeling alienated and somewhat lost. Place change works against feeling totally "at home" in a place, since this takes time - a seemingly rare commodity among busy, mobile, modern people - and relative stability in one place. To form lasting social connections and to feel "settled" takes longer than just a few years, as shown by the depth of the place attachment among elderly people who have lived a lifetime in one place (Hay, 1986; Rowles, 1978). To want such a deep sense of place, though, modern people will have to be shown its personal and societal value, as their urban, mobile lifestyle would have to be altered: there are larger concerns beyond ties to a career and the pursuit of the "good life".

In the face of rapid social change, levelling forces from mass communications, and encroaching urbanization, developing a strong sense of place through years of residence gives a person something solid to hang on to. A local sense of place can also foster a love for one small portion of the planet; perhaps this love can be translated into a greater understanding to preserve the integrity of other places, to prevent the despoilation of the Earth, and to develop more equitable social relations. The strident calls of feminists, Marxists, and environmentalists for social change could thus be softened, as they would no longer have a platform. Their presence now is a sign that the present modern system is failing.

The cross-cultural emphasis of this dissertation has demonstrated how much we as modern people differ from indigenous peoples, especially in our respective senses of place. A greater degree of understanding for the significance of indigenous peoples' cultural beliefs, at the level of cosmology, gives perspective to our own situation. The implications of cosmological differences have seldom been considered. Instead, as the world becomes a less-habitable place, technocrats, academics and politicians choose to "tinker" with the modern system, seldom realizing that systemic changes are needed to correct our path. It is the modern way of life itself which is causing environmental degradation and social upheaval. Recognizing the strength of an indigenous sense of place can point the way toward benefits which can arise if modern people develop a deep sense of place, adapted away from their highly-consumptive, urban lifestyle.

A degree of social change is necessary to fully realize a deep sense of place. Perhaps it is not too late to alter the perilous road that modern people have chosen for the Earth. Some large steps will soon have to be taken to begin to correct the mess we have made of our green planet if we as a species desire a lengthy existence. Cross-cultural perspectives on sense of place can help to give modern people direction as they consider changes to their way of life.



## GLOSSARY OF MAORI TERMS

<u>Maori term</u>	<u>English translation</u>
<i>Ahi kaa</i>	born within tribal boundaries and have always lived there (keeping the home fires warm for those who return)
<i>Aoraki</i>	Mt. Cook (on the South Island, and the highest peak in New Zealand)
<i>Aotearoa</i>	Land of the Long White Cloud (New Zealand)
<i>aro ha</i>	love, in the widest sense
<i>aru he</i>	fernroot
<i>atua</i>	gods (named in Fig. 6-3)
<i>haka</i>	war chant (posture dance), normally performed by men
<i>hangi</i>	feast
<i>hapu</i>	sub-tribe
<i>hongi</i>	pressing noses to meld spirits (Maori form of greeting)
<i>hui</i>	formal meeting on a marae (gathering of people)
<i>iwi</i>	tribe
<i>kai</i>	food
<i>kai-huanga</i>	eat-relation
<i>kaik</i>	home and/or Maori settlement (abbreviated from ' <i>kaika</i> ': Ngai Tahu; ' <i>kainga</i> ': North Island dialects)
<i>kai moana</i>	seafood
<i>kaitiaki</i>	guardians of land and resources (and of people)
<i>karakia</i>	religious chants (incantations)
<i>karanga</i>	call to the ancestors, performed by elder women
<i>kaumatua</i>	tribal elders
<i>kawa</i>	<i>marae</i> protocol
<i>koe, korua, koutou</i>	one, two, three; form of counting, prior to European contact. Used now to denote numbers of people.
<i>koru</i>	curled fern symbol
<i>kuia</i>	elder women
<i>kumara</i>	sweet potato
<i>mana</i>	personal power and prestige

<i>manuhiri</i>	visitors
<i>Maori</i>	an ordinary person (not of chiefly rank); also used to identify New Zealand's indigenous people, but tribal affiliations are more important to many Maori
<i>Maori-tanga</i>	Maoriness; Maori cultural ways
<i>marae</i>	open area in front of meeting house (the place of verbal battle: <i>te marae a tumatauenga</i> ); also, whole complex of buildings surrounding meeting house
<i>mauri</i>	soul (physical life principle)
<i>mauri-ora</i>	life force
<i>mihi</i>	exchange of greetings
<i>pa</i>	fortified villages
<i>paepae</i>	speaker's platform in front of <i>whare whakairo</i> ; also, threshold of encounter
<i>pakeha</i>	a New Zealand resident of European, Caucasoid descent
<i>papa kainga</i>	home ground
<i>Papa-tua-nuku</i>	Mother Earth
<i>pounamu</i>	greenstone (jade)
<i>powhiri</i>	formal greeting ceremony to welcome visitors on to <i>marae</i>
<i>rangatira</i>	chief
<i>Rangi-e-tu-hei</i>	Father Sky
<i>ropu/ope</i>	small group/large group (of things or people)
<i>Tane</i>	God of the forest
<i>tangata whenua</i>	people of the land/people born out of the placenta of Mother Earth
<i>tangi</i>	funeral service (mourning)
<i>taonga</i>	tribal treasures (e.g. carvings)
<i>tapu</i>	sacred (under religious restriction)
<i>Te Wai Pounamu</i>	The River of Greenstone (South Island)
<i>tohunga</i>	tribal spiritual leader
<i>te reo-Maori</i>	Maori language
<i>tikanga-Maori</i>	Maori customs (see also <i>Maoritanga</i> )

<i>tiki</i>	manlike carving
<i>tini</i>	multitudes (of things or people)
<i>Tu Tangata</i>	the people stand tall (Maori Affairs Department's programme of self-determination for tribes)
<i>turangawaewae</i>	place to stand; place of strength for a Maori (on a <i>marae</i> )
<i>Upoko Runanga</i>	tribal head of kinship council (head of relations)
<i>utu</i>	revenge (response to recorrect an imbalance; to restore tribal and/or personal <i>mana</i> )
<i>waiata</i>	song normally performed by a group of people, accompanied by actions
<i>wairua</i>	spiritual essence (spiritual life principle)
<i>wero</i>	challenge on a <i>marae</i> by a warrior to visitors
<i>whai-korero</i> given	speeches on a <i>marae</i> (ceremonial oratory, normally only by elder men)
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy (recited on a <i>marae</i> , usually by men only, to establish tribal standing)
<i>whanau</i>	extended family
<i>whanaungatanga</i>	family togetherness & communal contribution (familial relationships)
<i>whare kai</i>	dining hall
<i>whare whakairo</i>	carved meeting house
<i>whenua</i>	land; placenta

Note. 1. In spoken Maori: "wh" is pronounced as "f"; the "g" is soft if preceded by an "n", as in "nga", pronounced as "nah";  
for vowels, "e" is pronounced as "a",  
"ae" or "ai" as "i",  
"au" as "ow",  
"aa" as "aah";  
other vowels which are alongside each other are each pronounced singly.

2. Sources for English translations: Gray (1990); Murton (1987). Williams (1971) also provides detailed translations of Maori terms.

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## APPENDIX I

<u>Research Instrument</u>	<u>Administered to</u>
1. Question list for interviews (2 pages).	270 Peninsula respondents
2. Interview form (2 pages).	270 Peninsula respondents
3. Out-migrant interview form (2 pages).	80 Peninsula out-migrants
4. Topics for group meetings (1 page).	group interviews with Okains Bay & Akaroa residents
5. Interview form (2 pages).	78 Peninsula school children
6. Interview form (2 pages).	20 Peninsula holiday home owners
7. Interview form (2 pages).	20 Okains Bay long-term campers
8. Interview form (2 pages).	32 tourists (includes two Maori visitors)
9. Displacement questionnaire (10 pages).	100 temporary foreign residents living in Christchurch

Note: 1. Original pages have been reduced by 10 per cent.

2. On research instruments # 5 through to # 8 a large "X" marks questions which were used.



### Question List for Interviews

Note: 1. research aims and my affiliation explained prior to interview.

2. gender, race, general health, and marital status noted separately
  3. questions asked on some topics if appropriate (e.g. on ancestry and former places lived); if respondent has volunteered information earlier, then question is not asked.
- Could you please tell me your name, occupation, and where you are working now?
  - Also, could you tell me your age, and how many people live with you here?
  - Could you tell me a little about your former jobs and places lived (main ones only)?
  - How long have you lived in this home? In the Peninsula?
  - Where do you normally travel around the Peninsula? Has this changed much during your lifetime? (please explain) Does this change with the seasons? (please explain) Have you travelled away from the Peninsula for long trips, in duration or distance? (please explain)
  - Could you tell me where most of your close friends and relatives live? Are there any living here on the Peninsula?
  - What sort of social activities, sports, and community involvement in the Peninsula do you and your family take part in, both in recent times and in the past?
  - Do you have special places in the Peninsula that you like to go to? (please explain)
  - Could you tell me about your ancestry in the Peninsula? Has having ancestry here affected your feelings for the Peninsula? Since you have lived here for generations, have you and your family helped to create the landscape (or townscape) around this place?
  - Could you please comment on these next two questions: Is there any spiritual dimension to your feelings for your place? Is your place/ the Peninsula still seen or thought of as a Maori place in any way?
  - Have you been homesick when away from the Peninsula, and, if so, what have you missed?
  - How attached to you feel to your place? Are you willing, or intending, to move away from the Peninsula? If you are staying here, what do you like about this place?
  - How far do these feelings extend from this place: out to the Peninsula, Canterbury, and farther? Where are these feelings centered?
  - Do you still have strong feelings for former places that you've lived in? (please explain) Do you think that you still have ways of thinking and doing things from former places that you lived in that differs from the local residents here? (please explain)
  - Do you feel like an insider here, and throughout the Peninsula? (please explain) What effect have newcomers and tourists had on the Peninsula? Has this changed through your lifetime here?

- How else has this place and the Peninsula changed in your lifetime?  
Could you also comment on the sense of community here?
- Are there things about the Peninsula that you don't like? (please explain) Is there a social strata apparent in this place and the Peninsula?
- Have certain moments in your life helped you to become more aware of your feelings for your place? (please explain) Have the economic problems in New Zealand lately had any effect on these feelings?
- Could you offer your thoughts on these two questions about New Zealand society: Do you think that society has affected the development of your sense of place in any way? Do you think that sense of place is important within New Zealand society, amongst other people?
- Do you have any other comments on this interview or your sense of place that you'd like to make? Has this interview helped you become more aware of your sense of place?
- Can I use this tape-recorded material in my thesis and other publications? Would you mind if it was stored in an archival location in Canterbury, with access to it by other researchers?

Note: Taping of the interview ends here.

- Could you refer me to other residents of this place, the Peninsula, and people who have moved away that you think I should interview?

Note: Information given on end-field and end-thesis meetings with participants from the Peninsula region (notified through the Akaroa newspaper).

#### Additional Questions:

- Would you be interested in taking part in some further discussions on this topic in a small group? (asked of residents of Okains Bay, Akaroa, and Maoris, who are co-operative and who could contribute further insights)
- Would you mind if I returned next summer to video-tape some of this interview with you? (asked of interesting, friendly Peninsula residents)
- When did you move away from the Peninsula? Why? (please explain) How often have you visited the Peninsula? What are your feelings for the Peninsula now? Could you refer me to others who have moved away, and to close friends who are Christchurch residents? (asked of out-migrants from the Peninsula)

Topics for Group Discussions on Sense of Place

(by meeting number; potential contrasts in views shown by a "/")

- #1 insider/outsider; new/old resident; former/current place feelings
- #2 individual/social group; own experiences/societal effects; physical place/human-social world
- #3 male/female; child/teenager/adult/elder
- #4 average folks/artist-educated-community leader-elder; social class/individualism-egalitarian
- #5 historic-traditional culture/modern-contemporary society; urban/rural; local/regional/national scales
- #6 positive/negative feelings and experiences; rational-objective assessment/emotional-spiritual feelings; everyday world/raised consciousness

Banks Peninsula Project Interviews

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Interview #</u> _____
<u>Name</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Gender</u>
<u>General Health</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Age</u>
<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Where Working</u>	<u>*Living Here</u>
<u>Former Places Lived</u>	<u>Former Jobs</u>	
<u>Time Lived in This Home</u>	<u>Time Lived in Peninsula</u>	
<u>Travels: Peninsula</u>		
<u>Changes During Lifetime Here</u>		
<u>Changes During Seasons</u>		
<u>Travels Away</u>		
<u>Where Live: Close Friends</u>		
<u>Relatives</u>		
<u>Social Activities &amp; Sports</u>		
<u>Community Involvement</u>		
<u>Special Places</u>		
<u>Ancestry</u>		
<u>Effect on Feelings for Place</u>		
<u>Helped Create Landscape</u>		
<u>Spiritual Feelings for Place</u>		
<u>Still a Maori Place</u>		
<u>Homesick</u>	<u>What Missed</u>	
<u>How Attached to Place</u>	<u>Willing to Move</u>	
<u>What Like About Place</u>		

Spatial Extent of Feelings

Where Feelings Centered

Feelings for Former Places

Thinking/Doing that Differs from Locals

Insider Feelings

Where

Effect of Newcomers/Tourists: Recent

Effect in the Past

How Peninsula has Changed

Sense of Community

What Don't Like About Place

Social Strata

Moments When Aware of Feelings for Place

Effect of Recent Economic Problems

N.Z. Society: Effect on Sense of Place

Their Sense of Place Important

Comments: Interview

More Aware of Sense of Place Now

Tape-recordings Use: In Thesis

In Archives

Referrals: This Place

Peninsula

Out-migrants

**Out-migrant Interviews: Sense of Place for Banks Peninsula**

(first letter of name used to denote each person's response before each answer)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Interview *</u> ____
<u>Name(s)</u>	<u>Race (&amp;tribe)</u>	<u>Gender</u>
<u>General Health</u>	<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>Age of Each Person</u>
<u>Occupation (&amp; * years)</u>	<u>Where Working (place)</u>	<u>*Living in Home</u>
<u>* Years Lived in This Home</u>	<u>How Attached to Current Place?</u>	<u>Willing to Move?</u>
<u>What Liked About Living in Current Place (&amp; do you feel like an insider yet?)</u>		

Places where most of these now live: Close Friends

Relatives

Former Places Lived (& \* years for each)

Former Occupations (& \* years for each)

**Banks Peninsula Questions:**

When Left Penin. (year)

When Last in Penin. (date or month/year)

Travels within Peninsula (places went to regularly)

Changes During Lifetime There (different places/during what part of your life)

Travels Back to the Peninsula (how often/where)

Social Activities & Sports (formerly)

Community Clubs/Positions (formerly)

Special Places you liked to go to (in Penin.)

Ancestry (Main ones in Penin.: year arrived/names/where lived/occupation)

Effect on your Feelings for your Place of having Ancestry in Penin.

Was there a Strong Sense of Community in your Place? (describe)

What Liked About your Place/Penin.

Any Spiritual Feelings for Place/Penin.?

Homesick (for Penin.)?

(If yes) What Missed?

Still Attached to Penin.?

Planning to Move Back to Penin.?

Extent of area that you had strong place feelings for? (whole Penin? Canterbury?: describe)

Where Place Feelings Centered? (when lived in Penin.)

What Was Disliked About Penin.?

Why Moved From Penin.?

How Peninsula has Changed since you Left

Are you more aware of your feelings for the Peninsula since you moved away?

Is the Peninsula still a part of your life? (If yes, describe how)

Still Attached to Any Other Places You've Lived? (If yes, which ones/how strong/why)

Comments: Interview

More Aware of Sense of Place Now?

Allright to use this material: In Thesis?

In Archives? (tape-recordings)

Referrals: other Out-migrants

Tourist Interviews: Comments About Banks Peninsula

<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Interview #</u> _____
<u>Name(s)</u>	<u>Race</u>	<u>Gender</u>
<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Where from</u>	<u>Age group</u>
<u>First trip to Penin.?</u>	<u>And to N.Z.?</u>	<u>How long been in Penin.?</u>
<u>How long staying?</u>	<u>Type of accom.?</u>	<u>How often come to Penin.?</u>
<u>Where have you been to in the Penin.?</u>		
<u>What do you like about the Penin./this place?</u>		
<u>How could the tourist facilities be improved here?</u>		
<u>Intending to return to Penin?</u>	<u>Or to N.Z.?</u>	
<u>Any feeling of a bond to the Penin.?</u>		
<u>Are you more aware of the qualities of your own place now that you're here?</u>		
<u>What are the best qualities of your place?</u>		
<u>Other Comments?</u>		



- SCHOOL CHILDREN

## Banks Peninsula Project Interviews

Date

x Place

Interview \* \_\_\_\_\_

x Name

Race

Gender

General Health

Marital Status

x Age

Occupation

Where Working

\*Living Here

x Former Places Lived

Former Jobs

x Time Lived in This Home

Time Lived in Peninsula

Travels: x Peninsula

Changes During Lifetime Here

Changes During Seasons

Travels Away

Where Live: Close Friends

Relatives

Social Activities & Sports

Community Involvement

x Special Places

Ancestry

Effect on Feelings for Place

Helped Create Landscape

Spiritual Feelings for Place

Still a Maori Place

Homesick

What Missed

How Attached to Place

Willing to Move

x What Like About Place

x Spatial Extent of Feelings

Where Feelings Centered

Feelings for Former Places

Thinking/Doing that Differs from Locals

Insider Feelings

Where

Effect of Newcomers/Tourists: Recent

Effect in the Past

How Peninsula has Changed

Sense of Community

x What Don't Like About Place

Social Strata

Moments When Aware of Feelings for Place

Effect of Recent Economic Problems

N.Z. Society: Effect on Sense of Place

Their Sense of Place Important

Comments: Interview

More Aware of Sense of Place Now

Tape-recordings Use: In Thesis

In Archives

Referrals: This Place

Peninsula

Out-migrants

HOLIDAY HOME OWNERS  
Banks Peninsula Project Interviews

x Date

x Name

x General Health

x Occupation

x Former Places Lived

Time Lived in This Home

Travels: Peninsula

Changes During Lifetime Here

Changes During Seasons

x Travels Away to Penin.

x Where Live: Close Friends

Relatives

x Social Activities & Sports

x Community Involvement

x Special Places

Ancestry

Effect on Feelings for Place

Helped Create Landscape

Spiritual Feelings for Place

Still a Maori Place

Homesick

x How Attached to Place

x What Like About Place

x Place

Interview # \_\_\_\_\_

x Race

x Marital Status

Where Working

Former Jobs

Time Lived in Peninsula

x \*Living Here

Spatial Extent of Feelings

Where Feelings Centered

Feelings for Former Places

Thinking/Doing that Differs from Locals

Insider Feelings

Where

Effect of Newcomers/Tourists: Recent

Effect in the Past

x How Peninsula has Changed

x Sense of Community

x What Don't Like About Place

Social Strata

x Moments When Aware of Feelings for Place

Effect of Recent Economic Problems

N.Z. Society: Effect on Sense of Place

Their Sense of Place Important

x Comments: Interview

More Aware of Sense of Place Now

Tape-recordings Use: In Thesis

In Archives

Referrals: This Place

Peninsula

Out-migrants

## LONG TERM CAMPERS

~~Out-migrant Interviews: Sense of Place for Banks Peninsula~~

(first letter of name used to denote each person's response before each answer)

- x Date                                      x Place                                      Interview # \_\_\_\_\_
- x Name(s)                                      x Race (&tribe)                                      x Gender
- x General Health                                      x Marital Status                                      x Age of Each Person
- x Occupation (& \* years)                                      Where Working (place)                                      \*Living in Home
- x \* Years Lived in This Home                                      x How Attached to Current Place?                                      Willing to Move?

What Liked About Living in Current Place (& do you feel like an insider yet?)Places where most of these now live: Close FriendsRelatives

- x Former Places Lived (& \* years for each)                                      x Former Occupations (& \* years for each)

Banks Peninsula Questions:When Left Penin. (year)When Last in Penin. (date or month/year)Travels within Peninsula (places went to regularly)Changes During Lifetime There (different places/during what part of your life)x Travels Back to the Peninsula (how often/where)Social Activities & Sports (formerly)Community Clubs/Positions (formerly)

- x Special Places you liked to go to (in Penin.)

Ancestry (Main ones in Penin.: year arrived/names/where lived/occupation)

Effect on your Feelings for your Place of having Ancestry in Penin.

Was there a Strong Sense of Community in your Place? (describe)

x What Liked About your Place/Penin.

Any Spiritual Feelings for Place/Penin?

Homesick (for Penin.)?

(If yes) What Missed?

Feel

x Still Attached to Penin.?

x Planning to Move Back to Penin.?

Extent of area that you had strong place feelings for? (whole Penin? Canterbury?: describe)

Where Place Feelings Centered? (when lived in Penin.)

What Was Disliked About Penin.?

Why Moved From Penin.?

x How Peninsula has Changed since you Left

Are you more aware of your feelings for the Peninsula since you moved away?

Is the Peninsula still a part of your life? (If yes, describe how)

Still Attached to Any Other Places You've Lived? (If yes, which ones/how strong/why)

Comments: Interview

More Aware of Sense of Place Now?

Allright to use this material: In Thesis?

In Archives? (tape-recordings)

Referrals: other Out-migrants

Date filled-in \_\_\_\_\_

University of Canterbury

Department of Geography

## DISPLACEMENT

## QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this study is to compare the feelings of displacement that international residents, temporarily living in N.Z., may have while they are away from their homeland. The results from this study will tie-in with my work on the "sense of place" of native N.Z. residents. If your comments are used in any public document, they will be referred to in such a way that your identity cannot be traced; you will thus remain anonymous.

Please take enough time to reflect on each question, answering the questions as accurately as possible. Print (or write very clearly) your replies in English, use check-marks where it is logical to do so, and fill-in the questionnaire on your own. If you need more space to write your replies, please do this on the back of the page (and indicate this). Return (or mail) the completed questionnaire to Robert Hay, doctoral student, at:

1) Geography Dept., University of Canterbury, Christchurch 1

2) Bishop Julius Hall, 90 Waimairi Road, Christchurch 4

Section 1: Background Information on Yourself1. When did you first move to N.Z.? Year \_\_\_\_\_ Month \_\_\_\_\_2. What is your home (where you came from just prior to N.Z.):

town \_\_\_\_\_

district/region \_\_\_\_\_

state/province \_\_\_\_\_

country \_\_\_\_\_

3. Gender: Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_; Age: \_\_\_\_\_ years old.

4. Your ethnic origin in your home country (e.g. English: living in Canada;Chinese: living in Malaysia): \_\_\_\_\_

5. If you are a student: 1) degree programme (e.g. B.A. in History) \_\_\_\_\_

2) the year of the programme that you are in \_\_\_\_\_

(e.g. "3" = 3rd year of B.A.) \_\_\_\_\_

6. If you are not a student: 1) occupation \_\_\_\_\_

2) education (highest level achieved) \_\_\_\_\_

7. How long have you lived in Christchurch? Years \_\_\_\_ Months \_\_\_\_

### Section 2: Background Information on your N.Z. Experiences

1. Did you prepare yourself for your move here in the following ways (also check these items if a relative or close friend did these for you):

1) got detailed information on N.Z. beforehand \_\_\_\_\_

2) made contacts in N.Z. beforehand \_\_\_\_\_

3) went to see N.Z. before moving there \_\_\_\_\_

2. Could you list, in order of importance, your main reason(s) for moving to N.Z. (refer to what you thought prior to moving here):

1) \_\_\_\_\_

2) \_\_\_\_\_

3) \_\_\_\_\_

4) \_\_\_\_\_

5) \_\_\_\_\_

3. If it is appropriate, could you also list, in order of importance, the main reason(s) that you had for wanting to leave your own country:

1) \_\_\_\_\_

2) \_\_\_\_\_

3) \_\_\_\_\_

4) \_\_\_\_\_

5) \_\_\_\_\_



4. Could you now list some of the main cities and regions in N.Z. that you have travelled to or through (e.g. Auckland, Otago, Lake Taupo):

5. Have you made any close Kiwi friends in N.Z.? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If yes: how many? \_\_\_\_

6. Do you have any relatives living in N.Z.? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If yes: how many? \_\_\_\_

7. Could you now list the main things that you like about living in N.Z.:

Also, could you write a few lines on what you like the best about N.Z.:

**Section 3: Possible Problems You have had in N.Z.**

1. Have you been sick and/or injured here more often (or more seriously) than you were at home? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If yes: could you list the types of illnesses/injuries you have had; beside these list when they occurred in relation to when you arrived in N.Z., and how long they lasted (e.g. infection - two months after arrival - 3 days):

2. Could you now list your most difficult times while living in N.Z., describing each difficulty and when it occurred (in relation to when you arrived here):

3. If homesickness has been one of your difficulties, could you write down why you think it occurred and describe how you overcame it (if you did overcome it), for each time that it occurred:

4. Are you currently in a period of homesickness or other difficulty?

Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If yes: what difficulty are you presently in? Please describe briefly:

5. Have your impressions of N.Z. that you had prior to coming here proved to be accurate? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If no: could you list some of the important new things that you have learned about N.Z. (since you arrived here):

6. Could you now list some of your major dislikes about N.Z.:

Also, could you write a few lines describing why you dislike these things:

Section 4: Information about your Home Place

1. Did you leave a lot of your personal possessions at home when you moved to N.Z.? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

2. Have you gone home for a holiday since you moved to N.Z.? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If yes: could you list your trips (their duration and when they were, in relation to when you arrived in N.Z.):

3. Have you had visits from relatives or close friends from your home place since you came to N.Z.? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If yes: please list these visits, noting whether they were close friend(s) or relative(s) and when these trips occurred (in relation to when you arrived in N.Z.):

4. Are you planning future holidays home as well? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If yes: please list these trips by when they will (likely) occur, giving their duration too:

5. Do you maintain other contacts with your home? Please note which of the items in the following list apply to you, giving an approximate frequency as well beside each item (e.g. once per week):

- 1) telephone calls \_\_\_\_  
2) letters \_\_\_\_  
3) parcels \_\_\_\_  
4) newspapers \_\_\_\_

If you use any other type of contacts, please list these below. Also, if appropriate, describe how this frequency of contact has changed while you have been in N.Z.:

6. Could you list any ways in which you maintain contact with your home culture here in N.Z. (e.g. visits with friends/relatives from your home country who now live in N.Z.; cultural get-togethers; shopping, dining, and/or, working in an ethnic place of your culture; reading newspapers, books, and/or magazines, listening to music, going to movies, etc., from your home country), with the frequency noted beside each item:

7. Do you have close friends from your home country (or other foreign countries) in N.Z.? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If yes: how many for home country \_\_\_\_ and foreign countries \_\_\_\_

8. Do you still have many friends and relatives in your home country?

Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

9. Do you plan moving back to your home country in the future?

Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

1) If yes: about when do you intend to leave N.Z.? \_\_\_\_\_

2) If no: do you intend to leave N.Z. and go to another country?

Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If yes: when would you be leaving N.Z.? \_\_\_\_\_

10. If you could stay in N.Z. as a permanent resident, would you want to?

Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

11. Could you list some of the things that you miss from your home place:

Also, could you write (at least) a couple of short paragraphs, describing the qualities/things of your home place that you miss the most:

12. Did you fully realize the importance of these qualities (that you just described) before you left your home for NZ.? Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

If no: could you add a few lines on what you have learned about your home place by being away from it:

Overall, has it been a good experience for you, so far, coming to N.Z.?

Yes \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_

Thankyou for your help in completing this questionnaire.

If you have any comments about either this questionnaire or this topic,  
please write these below:



## APPENDIX II

Description of Variables.

## 1. Peninsula sample of respondents (N=270).

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
length of residence	33.42	23.23
ancestor's decade of arrival	1860.000	25.298
ancestry important	.704	.841
birthplace	1.826	1.351
likes & special places	4.119	2.114
awareness level	1.626	.798
motivation to remain on place	1.700	.758
social network	1.885	.817
community involvement	3.915	2.465
connections out of Peninsula	.681	.554
living situation on the Peninsula	1.422	.673
insider feelings in Peninsula	1.674	.677
attachment level to Peninsula	2.748	.851
stage of life	4.407	.970
age	52.007	16.662
gender	1.463	.500
socio-economic status	2.011	.569
occupational group	5.059	2.181
race	1.107	.310
immigrant status	1.529	.514
regional mobility	3.000	1.302
frequency of moving	1.870	.738
years lived away from Peninsula	18.581	14.999
location of home in Peninsula	6.341	1.331
spatial extent of place ties	3.048	.884

topographic setting of home	3.444	1.727
size of community	1.822	.760
landscape setting of home	2.807	1.430
current travels around Peninsula	1.774	.419
past travels around Peninsula	1.694	.462
travels overseas	.848	.744
intensity of sense of place	.000	2.905
residential status	.000	2.517
social belonging	.001	3.012

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## 2. Out-migrants (N=80).

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Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
length of residence	23.65	16.36
ancestor's decade of arrival	1851.111	17.610
ancestry important	.850	.765
birthplace	1.425	1.134
likes and special places	4.112	1.981
awareness level	1.700	.770
motivation to return to Peninsula	.400	.922
social network (in Peninsula)	1.062	.401
community involvement (in Peninsula)	2.587	2.004
connections out of the Peninsula	no data	no data
living situation on the Peninsula	no data	no data
insider feelings in Peninsula	1.450	.673
attachment level to Peninsula	2.275	18.965
stage of life	4.600	1.063
age	55.537	18.965
gender	1.550	.501
socio-economic status	2.100	.377
occupational group	5.462	1.405

race	1.175	.382
immigrant status	no data	no data
regional mobility	2.787	1.122
frequency of moving	1.537	.502
years lived away from Peninsula	31.887	15.209
location of home in New Zealand	2.500	.796
spatial extent of place ties	3.712	2.118
topographic setting of home	7.100	.302
size of community	3.675	.652
landscape setting of home	4.800	.683
current travels in Peninsula	no data	no data
past travels in Peninsula	1.775	.420
travels overseas	no data	no data
years since moved out of Peninsula	21.675	14.813
out-migrant travels back to Peninsula	2.450	1.179
attachment level to present place	2.150	1.057
where from in Peninsula (location)	2.962	1.037
nostalgic sense of place (for Peninsula)	.000	2.437
residential status (Peninsula-based)	.000	1.750
social belonging (Peninsula-based)	.002	2.269

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### 3. Description of variables used in statistical analyses, by category.

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Variable	Code	Category
length of residence	continuous measure	years
ancestor's arrival	continuous measure	decade (dash if not applicable)
ancestry important	0 1 2	no/not applicable yes, somewhat very

birthplace	0	born out and moved in (there < half the person's lifetime)
	1	born in and lived most of life out
	2	born out and lived mostly in
	3	born in and lived mostly in
likes & special places	continuous measure	(# of likes & special places) - dislikes
awareness level	0	much basis/very sensitive
	1	some basis/moderately sensitive
	2	some basis/very little sensitivity
	3	no basis of realization/not sensitive or aware of own sense of place
motivation to remain on place (or to return to Peninsula)	0	want to move out of Peninsula (do <u>not</u> want to return: out-migrants)
	1	undecided: might move (or move <u>back</u> : out-migrants)
	2	won't move
	3	recently moved back to Peninsula (not including time away at war, in boarding school, or for farm experience after schooling completed); for out-migrants: want to move back to Peninsula
social network in Peninsula	0	no network
	1	some network
	2	well-developed network
	3	very extensive network
community involvement	continuous measure	# of clubs/groups involved with
connections out of Peninsula	0	many
	1	some
	2	almost nil
living situation on the Peninsula	0	renting in Peninsula
	1	<u>not</u> on family land/in ancestral home
	2	on family land/in ancestral home
insider feelings in Peninsula	0	not an insider
	1	some insider feelings
	2	an insider
attachment level to Peninsula	0	not
	1	weak
	2	moderate
	3	very
	4	part of place
stage of life	3	age 15 - 35
	4	age 36 - 55
	5	age 56 to 70
	6	age 71 +
age	continuous measure	years
gender	1	male
	2	female

socio-economic status	1	poor
	2	middle class
	3	well off
occupational group	2	farmer
	4	business/professional
	5	retired
	7	housewife
	8	other (fisherman, unemployed, student, and other occupations)
race	1	pakeha
	2	Maori
immigrant status	-	not an immigrant
	1	immigrant 10 to 35 years ago
	2	immigrant < 10 years ago
regional mobility	1	lived overseas
	2	lived in New Zealand all life
	3	lived in South Island all life
	4	lived in Peninsula/Christchurch region all life
	5	lived in Peninsula all life
frequency of moving	1	moved often
	2	moved seldom (< or = 3 times)
	3	never moved out of Peninsula
years lived out of Peninsula	continuous measure	years
location in Peninsula (& in/out of N.Z.: out -migrants)	1	out-migrants: out of South Island
	2	out-migrants: out of Christchurch
region		on South Island
	3	out-migrants: Christchurch region
	4	Birdlings Flat to Christchurch & Port Levy/Rapaki
	5	Little River area
	6	outer bays & ridges
	7	Akaroa Harbour (not Akaroa)
	8	Akaroa (& Onuku/Takamatua)
spatial extent of place ties	1	local place ( <u>out</u> of Peninsula)
	2	local place (in Peninsula)
	3	Peninsula as a whole
	4	Region/ <i>hapu</i> (Peninsula-based)
	5	Region/ <i>hapu</i> (not Peninsula-based)
	6	South Island or New Zealand
	7	<u>both</u> local place & Peninsula (for out-migrants only)

topographic setting of home	1	isolated bay
	2	ridges/hillsides/head of valley
	3	larger bay
	4	flat land (Plains edge)
	5	valley (but <u>not</u> to a bay)
	6	urban (in Peninsula: Akaroa)
	7	urban (out of Peninsula)
	8	rural (out of Peninsula)
size of community	1	few or single home(s)
	2	dispersed settlement
	3	village/town
	4	city (out-migrants only)
landscape setting of home	1	sea or lake nearby
	2	open
	3	wooded
	4	dispersed settlement
	5	town/city
current travels in Peninsula	-	not a Peninsula resident
	1	travel around Peninsula often
	2	travel around local area
past travels in Peninsula	-	not applicable (very new resident)
	1	travel around Peninsula often
	2	travel around local area
travels overseas	-	not applicable (out-migrants)
	0	none
	1	seldom
	2	extensive

### 3a. Out-migrants only.

years since moved out of Peninsula	continuous measure	years
out-migrant travels back to Peninsula	0	do not travel back
	1	travel back very seldom (< 1 per year)
	2	travel back seldom (1 to 3 per year)
	3	travel back regularly (4 to 10 per year)
	4	travel back often (> 10 per year)
attachment level to present place	0	not
	1	weak
	2	moderate
	3	very
	4	part of place
where from in Peninsula	1	Birdlings to Christchurch
	2	Little River area
	3	outer bays/ridges
	4	Akaroa Harbour

## APPENDIX III

List of Peninsula and out-migrant respondents.

	NAME	PLACE WHERE LIVE	LENGTH OF RESIDENCE	CHANGE OF STATUS
A. Peninsula respondents				
1. <u>Pakeha raised on the Peninsula</u>				
1	Peter Moore	Okains Bay	18	moved out
2	Rosanne Thelning	Le Bons Bay	16	
3	Paho Thacker	Okains Bay	10	
4	Jason Thacker	Okains Bay	12	
5	Louis Thacker	Okains Bay	20	
6	John Masefield	Goughs Bay	17	
7	Bill Masefield	Goughs Bay	14	moved out & back
8	Richard Barnett	Port Levy	14	
9	Rick Menzies	Menzies Bay	33	local move
10	Alan Moore	Okains Bay	27	
11	Richard Boleyn	Stoney Bay	30	
12*	Peter Thelning	Okains Bay	23	
13*	Cynthia Thelning	Okains Bay	20	
14	Martin Crow	Okains Bay	31	
15	Kerry Thacker	Okains Bay	39	
16*	Bevan Harris	Okains Bay	37	
17	Chris Grigg	Hickory Bay	37	
18	Ewan Moore	Okains Bay	33	
19	Mark Armstrong	Stoney Bay	34	
20	Dennis Le Lievre	Takamatua	30	
21	Phillip Narbey	Long Bay	28	
22	Jeff Hamilton	Onuku	36	
23	Lois Reid	Akaroa	46	
24*	Shireen Helps	Flea Bay	36	local move
25*	Francis Helps	Flea Bay	37	local move
26	John Stuart	Le Bons Bay	36	local move
27	Helen Stuart	Le Bons Bay	30	local move
28	Peter McKay	Le Bons Bay	37	local move
29	Richard Evans	Wainui	26	moving out soon
30	Rod Crow	Pigeon Bay	25	local move
31	Robin Reynish	Pigeon Bay	24	
32	Arnaud McKellar	Pigeon Bay	26	
33	Julian Holderness	Gebbies Valley	31	
34	Bill Thompson	McQueens Valley	34	
35	Ross Watson	Prices Valley	35	
36	Zelma Tini	Little River	41	
37	Michael Bayley	Kaitorete Spit	34	
38	Albert Birdling	Prices Valley	33	
39	Roger Coop	Kaituna Valley	41	
40	Richard Coop	Port Levy	37	local move
41	Pip Young	Puaha	15	
42	Liz Birdling	Prices Valley	32	
43	Nancy Moore	Okains Bay	64	
44	Graham Moore	Okains Bay	49	
45	Zylpha Knapp	Okains Bay	54	local move

46	Alf Thelning	Lavericks Bay	47	
47	Hope Graham	Okains Bay	43	moved out
48*	Harry Hartley	Okains Bay	57	
49*	June Hartley	Okains Bay	58	
50	Murray Thacker	Okains Bay	47	
51	Wes Shuttleworth	Akaroa	65	
52	Jack Hartley	Okains Bay	40	
53	Roy Haylock	Akaroa	60	
54	Molly Narbey	Akaroa	67	
55	Bill Hall	Peraki Bay	48	
56	Helen Hall	Peraki Bay	20	deceased
57	Robin Craw	Akaroa	65	
58	Josephine de Latour	Akaroa	49	
59	Jim Hammond	Takamatua	67	
60	Des McSweeney	Akaroa	15	
61	Alan Reid	Akaroa	50	
62	Alan Reynish	Akaroa	59	
63	Johnny Phillips	Akaroa	63	
64	Betty Phillips	Akaroa	64	
65	Dave Barrett	Takamatua	61	
66	Barbara Barrett	Takamatua	53	
67	Clyde McKay	Le Bons Bay	62	
68	Lorna McKay	Le Bons Bay	57	
69	Joyce Evans	Wainui	62	
70	Gerard Foley	Robinsons Bay	42	
71	John Hutchinson	Wainui	43	
72	Terence Brocherie	Fr. Farm	61	
73	Ted Hutchinson	Magnet Bay	41	
74	Alan Hunt	Akaroa	29	
75	Donald Hay	Pigeon Bay	57	
76	June Hay	Pigeon Bay	48	
77	Phil Hammond	Birdlings Flat	66	
78	Robin Waghorn	Little Akaloa	46	
79	Ted Turrell	Kaituna Valley	43	
80	Pam de Pass	Kaituna Valley	52	
81	Tom Barwick	Oashore Bay	69	moved out
82	Pat Parkinson	Kaituna Valley	54	
83	Geraldine Parkinson	Kaituna Valley	54	
84	Ross Stanbury	Little River	58	
85	Nancy Stanbury	Little River	49	
86	Stewart Miller	McQueens Valley	52	
87	Doug White	Little River	62	
88	Colin Stanbury	Little River	58	
89	Ngairé Ussher	Little River	65	
90	Terry Stuart	Little River	58	
91	Phyllis Streeter	McQueens Valley	31	
92	Owen Jenkins	Port Levy	61	
93	Jim Wright	Magnet Bay	56	
94	Jill Harris	Decanter Bay	56	
95	Hazel Waghorn	Chorlton	87	
96	Henry Thacker	Okains Bay	76	
97	Arthur Thacker	Okains Bay	60	local move soon
98	Jessie Mould	Akaroa	39	
99	Ian Menzies	Menzies Bay	73	
100	Joe Narbey	Akaroa	73	
101*	Bob Masefield	Akaroa	76	
102	Huia Narbey	Akaroa	70	
103	Ted Armstrong	Akaroa	71	
104	Jim Boleyn	Akaroa	62	
105	Nancy Boleyn	Akaroa	68	



106	Molly Hutchinson	Akaroa	76	
107	Bill Hutchinson	Akaroa	70	
108	Lance Le Lievre	Takamatua	40	deceased
109	Jean Dalglish	Akaroa	69	
110	Hector Dalglish	Akaroa	68	
111*	Frank Helps	Akaroa	74	
112	Ursula Hamilton	Akaroa	72	
113	John Helps	Akaroa	73	moved out
114	Rex Davis	Akaroa	68	deceased
115	Bill Le Lievre	Akaroa	58	
116	Pat Drummond	Akaroa	66	
117	Dorothy Weir	French Farm	89	local move
118	Billy Weir	French Farm	87	local move
119	Scott Craw	Chorlton	71	
120	Jean Craw	Chorlton	68	
121	Percy Ussher	Little River	66	
122	Hilda Latham	Puaha Valley	51	moved out
123	Eric Streeter	McQueens Valley	75	
124	Brenda Steele	Port Levy	59	
125	Roland Curry	Akaroa	77	
126	May Curry	Akaroa	70	

## 2. Pakeha who have moved on to the Peninsula (non-immigrant/non-transient)

127	Jill Orr	Akaroa	6	
128	Cathy Moore	Okains Bay	8	
129	Joy Law	Okains Bay	6	moved out
130	Ian Law	Okains Bay	6	
131	Vivian Boleyn	Stoney Bay	7	
132	Gregg Cartwell	Okains Bay	3	moved out
133	Raewyn Cartwell	Okains Bay	3	moved out
134	Jennifer Thacker	Okains Bay	5	
135	Paul Oliver	Akaroa	8	moved out
136	Raewyn Oliver	Akaroa	7	moved out
137	Margaret Orange	Akaroa	4	
138	Mel Orange	Akaroa	4	
139	Sarah Masefield	Goughs Bay	4	
140	Dennis Brown	Fishermans Bay	6	
141	Leslie Brown	Fishermans Bay	6	
142	Marie McSweeney	Akaroa	2	
143	John Davey	Onuku	6	
144	Jenny Davey	Onuku	6	
145	Fay Hill	Akaroa	9	
146	Sandy Craw	Little Pigeon Bay	7	
147	Sue Reynish	Pigeon Bay	8	
148	Frank Davison	Pigeon Bay	8	
149	Jane Davison	Pigeon Bay	8	
150	Graham Young	Puaha Valley	6	
151	Peter Higginbottom	Birdlings Flat	6	
152	Margaret Higginbottom	Birdlings Flat	6	
153	Robin McFarlane (m)	Little River	6	
154	Robin McFarlane (f)	Little River	6	
155	John Joseph	Kaituna Valley	6	
156	Pat Joseph	Kaituna Valley	6	
157	Warwick Stephens	Okuti Valley	8	
158	Colin Pilbrow	Akaroa	5	
159	Wendy Pilbrow	Akaroa	5	
160	Diana Goldsborough	Akaroa	3	
161	Arthur Ericson	Akaroa	22	
162	Robin Short	Okains Bay	13	

163	Gay Menzies	Menzies Bay	22	
164	Margaret Craw	Okains Bay	17	local move
165	Judy Thacker	Okains Bay	23	
166	Jan Harris	Okains Bay	23	
167	Judith Moore	Okains Bay	14	
168	Sonia Armstrong	Stoney Bay	14	
169	Diana Harper	Te Oka Bay	14	
170	Gerald Harper	Te Oka Bay	14	
171	Peter Polson	Akaroa	10	
172	Peter Overton	Duvauchelle	15	
173	Anne Overton	Duvauchelle	15	moved out
174	Rosemary McKellar	Pigeon Bay	10	
175	Gil Waghorn	Little Akaloa	21	
176	Janice Turrell	Kaituna Valley	21	
177	Lynn Thompson	McQueens Valley	21	
178	Mary Watson	Prices Valley	14	
179	Kyra Tainui	Akaroa	34	
180	June Coffin	Okains Bay	39	moved out
181	Shirley Moore	Okains Bay	35	
182	John Knapp	Okains Bay	34	local move
183	Eileen Thelning	Lavericks Bay	39	
184	Robin Grigg	Hickory Bay	25	
185	Joan Thacker	Takamatua	30	local move soon
186	Claire Le Leivre	Takamatua	30	
187	Pip Foley	Robinson's Bay	27	
188	Beryl Coop	Kaituna	27	local move
189	Elizabeth Armstrong	Akaroa	44	
190	Grace Thacker	Okains Bay	53	
191	Dorothy Menzies	Menzies Bay	56	
192	Heather Haylock	Akaroa	42	
193	Patricia Masefield	Akaroa	51	
194	Lola Craw	Akaroa	43	
195*	Ruth Helps	Akaroa	42	
196	Peter de Latour	Akaroa	42	
197	Lawrence McRae	Takamatua	40	
198	Dorrie Davis	Akaroa	55	
199	Alan Stewart	Akaroa	43	
200	Lois Holderness	Akaroa	49	
201	Jim Holderness	Akaroa	48	
202	Eric May	Akaroa	68	
203	Jack Drummond	Akaroa	49	
204	Josie Drummond	Akaroa	40	
205	Peter de Pass	Kaituna Valley	41	
206	Ruby Stuart	Little River	43	
207	Dick Barnett	Port Levy	33	moving out soon
208	Leslie Barnett	Port Levy	33	moving out soon
209	Ian Harris	Decanter Bay	40	
210	Beryl Jenkins	Port Levy	42	moving out soon
211	Leslie Menzies	Menzies Bay	53	

### 3. Maori residents

212	Henry Robinson	Onuku	60	
213	Jill Tainui	Birdlings Flat	15	moved out
214	Wi Tainui	Akaroa	45	
215	Bruce Rhodes	Onuku	37	
216	George Tainui	Akaroa	43	
217	Riki Tainui	Barrys Bay	22	
218	Nancy Robinson	Little River	58	
219	Pere Tainui	Akaroa	35	

220	Buck Robinson	Wainui	60	
221	Bill Tini	Little River	49	
222	Anne Stanbury	Little River	41	
223	Francie Robinson	Little River	57	
224	George Skipper	Birdlings Flat	38	
225	Valerie McMurdo	Port Levy	33	
226	Pauline Darguzis	Port Levy	28	
227	Graeme Grennell	Port Levy	6	moved out
228	Brent Ruru	Akaroa	24	
229	Raehera Williams	Akaroa	20	
230	Arthur Couch	Rapaki	43	
231	Sharyn Enoka	Fishermans Bay	3	local move
232	Milly Robinson	Onuku	31	
233	Marlene Woods	Akaroa	20	
234	Robert Shelford	Okains Bay	1	
235	Nai Paora	Okains Bay	6	
236	Piki Edwards	Okains Bay	.5	moved out
237	Maria Narbey	Long Bay	16	
238	Polly Rhodes	Onuku	20	
239	Tatiana Pimm	Akaroa	27	
240	Mahia Tainui	Akaroa	12	

#### 4. Foreign immigrants

241	Alec Hedgecock	Akaroa	31	
242*	Mike Schellkes	Okains Bay	2	
243	Ruth Schellkes	Okains Bay	2	
244	Gerda Short	Okains Bay	13	
245	Martin Wenlock	Te Oka Bay	3	
246	Penny Wenlock	To Oka Bay	3	
247	Tricia Hatfield	Onuku	2	
248	Steve Lowndes	Akaroa	8	
249	Gillian Polson	Akaroa	10	
250	Hans Bergkessel	Le Bons Bay	12	
251	Elke Bergkessel	Le Bons Bay	12	
252	David Lewis	Le Bons Bay	11	
253	Sally Lewis	Le Bons Bay	11	
254	Peggy Fox	Onawe	3	
255	Gerd Stettner	Little Akaloa	5	
256	Erika Stettner	Little Akaloa	5	
257	Guy Goldsborough	Akaroa	3	

#### 5. Pakeha transients (temporary residents)

258	Tony Washington	Okains Bay	2	moved out
259	Christine Washington	Okains Bay	2	moved out
260	Christine Lamplough	Okains Bay	.5	moved out & back
261	Max Blacktop	Okains Bay	1	
262	Celia Thomas	Okains Bay	1	
263	Bill Prestage	Okains Bay	3	moved out
264	Fiona Prestage	Okains Bay	3	moved out
265	Max Terras	Okains Bay	.5	moved out
266	Jenny Ware	Okains Bay	.5	moved out
267	Jim Carson	Okains Bay	.5	moved out
268	Denise Shelford	Okains Bay	1	
269	Gary Campion	Fisherman's Bay	3	local move
270	Martin Warren	Akaroa	3	

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Note: 1. \* indicates person also took part in group interviews.

2. Leon Fox was also interviewed in the Peninsula (Peggy's husband), but was inadvertently left out of statistical analyses. He is from Christchurch, and had three years length of residence in the Peninsula at the time of the interview.

## B. Peninsula out-migrant respondents

### 6a. Pakeha out-migrants

				<u>Where From</u>
271	Hamish Menzies	Christchurch	11	Menzies Bay
272	Michelle Hartley	Christchurch	13	Okains Bay
273	Jackie Harris	Christchurch	13	Okains Bay
274	James Hay	Christchurch	58	Pigeon Bay
275	Catherine McKellar	Christchurch	57	Pigeon Bay
276	Paul Le Lievre	Christchurch	19	Akaroa
277	Barbara Coop	Christchurch	65	Kaituna Valley
278	Edward Menzies	Christchurch	9	Menzies Bay
279	Janet Hedgecock	Christchurch	29	Akaroa
280	George Brassell	Christchurch	40	Akaroa
281	Tom McKellar	Christchurch	54	Pigeon Bay
282	Fred Watson	Halswell	59	Prices Valley
283	Celia Watson	Halswell	36	Prices Valley
284	Pat Webb	Christchurch	35	Te Oka Bay
285	Marlene Dent	Christchurch	21	Okains Bay
286	Julian Dent	Christchurch	3	Okains Bay
287	Marjorie Moore	Christchurch	25	Okains Bay
288	Bill Hall	Christchurch	13	Peraki Bay
289	Susan Hall	Christchurch	6	Kaituna Valley
290	Robin Robinson	Christchurch	4	Little River
291	Jim Foley (deceased)	Christchurch	46	Te Oka Bay
292	Jim Moore	Christchurch	49	Okains Bay
293	Reg Harris	Christchurch	40	Okains Bay
294	Frances Harris	Christchurch	36	Okains Bay
295	Daphne Harrison	Christchurch	57	Akaroa
296	Laurie Harris (deceased)	Christchurch	41	Okains Bay
297	Brian Hay	Christchurch	10	Pigeon Bay
298	Annabelle Joyce, nee Menzies	Christchurch	10	Menzies Bay
299	John Forrester	Christchurch	34	Kaituna Valley
300	Mary Owen, nee Hartley	Christchurch	27	Okains Bay
301	Anne Davison, nee Hay	Christchurch	10	Pigeon Bay
302	Ruth Walker, nee Thacker	Christchurch	20	Okains Bay
303	Patricia Beasley	Christchurch	13	Okains Bay
304	Bill Leonardo	Christchurch	33	Hickory Bay
305	Joan Cooper	Christchurch	13	Okains Bay
306	Annette Muller, nee Le Lievre	Christchurch	6	Akaroa
307	Sandy Hutchinson	Ladbroke	58	Magnet Bay
308	Graham Nutt	Christchurch	60	Motukarara
309	David Menzies	Christchurch	10	Menzies Bay
310	Ruth Mason	Southbridge	25	Okains Bay
311	Helen Hutchinson	Ladbroke	38	Magnet Bay
312	Edith Currie	Christchurch	21	Okains Bay
313	Clem Smith	Christchurch	21	Okains Bay
314	Nancy Smith	Christchurch	21	Okains Bay
315	Rex Mason	Southbridge	10	Okains Bay
316	John Moore	Wanaka	32	Hickory Bay
317	Alvene Moore	Wanaka	32	Hickory Bay
318	Caroline Tapley, nee McKellar	Queenstown	10	Pigeon Bay
319	Diane Wallace, nee Thacker	Nelson	14	Okains Bay

320	Audrey Patten, nee Thacker	Hurunui	11	Okains Bay
321	Bill Currie	Timaru	6	Okains Bay
322	Amy Currie	Timaru	6	Okains Bay
323	Lester Kyle	Nelson	5	Okains Bay
324	Muriel Kyle	Nelson	5	Okains Bay
325	Kerry Marshall	Nelson	9	Wainui
326	Kate Ravich, nee Armstrong	Sydney	12	Stoney Bay
327	Susan Hitchcock, nee Boleyn	Auckland	12	Okains Bay
328	Sandra Cosgrove, nee Phillips	Auckland	18	Akaroa
329	Felicity Brown, nee Coffin	Auckland	12	Okains Bay
330	Cliff Harris	Auckland	15	Okains Bay
331	Doug Harris	Auckland	18	Okains Bay
332	George Waghorn	Whangarei	41	Okains Bay
333	Rosie Waghorn	Whangarei	35	Okains Bay
334	Colin Mason	Auckland	30	Okains Bay
335	Fay Blomquist	Auckland	8	Barrys Bay
336	Simon Menzies	Auckland	8	Menzies Bay

6b. Maori out-migrants

337	Ngaire Tainui	Christchurch	18	Akaroa
338	Chris Robinson	Christchurch	27	Akaroa
339	Joe Skipper	Kaiapoi	27	Little River
340	Naomi Bunker	Christchurch	40	Little River
341	Monty Daniels	Christchurch	13	Little River
342	James Robinson	Rangiora	17	Little River
343	Lynn Watson, nee Robinson	Rangiora	18	Little River
344	Marie Whaanga, nee Skipper	Tauranga	11	Little River
345	Ellen Taylor, nee Robinson	Cairns	16	Little River
346	Francis Kramer, nee Robinson	Vanuatu	17	Little River
347	Olive Wanoa, nee Robinson	Auckland	12	Little River
348	Maurice Gray	Christchurch	4	Port Levy
349	Bernice Tainui	Christchurch	30	Akaroa
350	John Panirau	Christchurch	18	Little River

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Note: Length of residence approximated, and taken from time of interview; main place of residence listed; "moved out" indicates that the person permanently left the Banks Peninsula Study Area.